

ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY OF

Vedic Terms

VOLUME

1



SWAMI PARMESHWARANAND

The Dictionary of the Vedic terms is a comprehensive information of vedic terms and terminology with a view in making vedic study more interesting and research oriented. Numerous books have been written in the Vedas and its subsidiary literature by authors who takes it for granted the reader is already familiar with the significance of important terms and concepts acquiring in the text. But this assumption is not correct. The Vedas is not for scholar or pundit but also for the common man for whom it is not possible to refer to scholarly books. This dictionary has been prepared after consulting dozen dictionaries and encyclopaedias on the Hindu literature, history, science, political life, prepared by imminent scholars.

Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Vedic Terms

Volume—1

(A—L)

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Preface

An authentic, outstanding and wide informative double volumes “Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Vedic Terms” is compiled, edited and arranged all important terms and terminology of Vedic religio-cultural and literary tradition in alphabetical order by a leading Vedic scholar who has recreated with all the splendour and mystery of vedic literature.

The need for new dictionary on vedic terms and concepts that would meet the requirement of contemporary readers and research scholars, has been recognised. This Dictionary attempts to make a more contribution to the literature on Vedas with a view in making its vedic study more interesting and research oriented. Though numerous books have been writtten on vedas and its subsidiary literature by way of commentaries, translations and other research works by scholars who take it for granted the reader is already familiar with the significance of important terms and concepts occurring in the texts. But this assumption is not correct. The Vedas are not only for scholars and *Pandits*, but also for the common man, for whom it is not possible to refer scholarly books. My Dictionary, thus, meets a real need of contemporary readers and research scholars.

This Encyclopaedic Dictionary is vast collection of entries dealing with various aspects of Vedas: psychology, philosophy, religion, socio-economic aspects, cosmology, ethics, mythology, symbolism, art and architecture, ascetic practices of purification, language and literature—canonical and non-canonical, metaphysics and physics, building architecture, fasts and festivals, rites and rituals, tantricism, sacred vedic centres. monks and nuns, cosmic spirit, social. political. economic and cultural geography. eschatological concept. chronology

and history, solution of environmental crisis and peaceful coexistence of human being.

More than an academic exercise, this encyclopaedic Dictionary represents a vast range of sources of both published as well as unpublished materials. In presenting this work. I can not refrain from expressing my profound gratitude to those scholars whose works made this work easier.

It is a pioneering attempt to provide a comprehensive research and study of the Vedic religio-cultural and literary tradition. This Encyclopaedia is vast collection of several renowned scholars. This series is for the benefit of the students, teachers, and research scholars as well laymen who wish to know the key aspects of vedic terminology. The editor has brought here his keen experience in advance research on vedic literature.

Editor

Absolutism

The investigations about the Absolute have no meaning without the background of the ritualistic religion, except as an attempt at an interpretation of the full significance of the rituals, and the full significance of the rituals cannot be realised unless one goes behind the forms and behind the details and try to find out the ultimate basis of such practices. Further, we must also understand that such a combination of religion and philosophy had been going on in the country from the earliest times, and what we find in the *Upanisads* is not merely an interpretation of the thoughts of the earlier Vedic literature, but also a continuation of the spirit and methods of that earlier age.

The most philosophical poems of the *Rgveda* are found to have a ritualistic setting and they are intimately associated with ritualistic details. Even a god like Varuna will vanish from the Vedic pantheon if we divest him of his ritualistic features. And he associated with moral qualities and spiritual eminence by modern writers, tracing the moral God of Zoroaster to him. No one can dissociate gods like the Asvins (the twin-gods) and Sarasvai (the holy river) and Uas (Dawn) from an intellectual touch, and what are they without their

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ritualistic elements? And gods of a ritualistic nature like Indra and Agni (Fire) and the Maruts are also holding a high position on the intellectual side. Brhaspati is the type of the concord between ritualism and intellectual eminence.

Dirghatamas asks the question what use there is in the Vedic Songs for one who does not understand the nature of the Absolute, the ultimate position in which all the gods abide. After singing about the glories of wisdom and of the nature of language and poetry, he speaks of the Sacrificial Altar as the farthest end of the world and of the Sacrifice as the navel of the earth, of Soma as the seed of the world, and the Poet as the highest seat of language. There is no portion of the *Rgveda* that can be dissociated from a ritualistic setting, there is god who is not in some form or other, directly or at least indirectly, related to ritualism. There is no author of the Vedas who is not also connected with the ritualism of the religion.

The text of the *Rgveda* and of the *Atharvaveda* as we have them, are full of references to the nature of the Absolute, though they are given in poetic form and not in the form of a direct presentation of such a nature. The references to the concealed position and the concealed names, to the regions beyond the comprehension of ordinary men which only the wise can see, to the dark regions, to the cave—all are related to the nature of the Absolute that is at the basis of our experience of a diversified nature in the world. Terms like what moves and what is stationary, and what is mortal and what is immortal, express the relation of the phenomenal world that the experience to the Absolute beyond our experience. Two out of the three worlds are in the lap of the Sun-god Savitar (unseen by us) and only one is within the domain of Yama (within our experience). This shows that what is within our experience is a very small part of the whole universe. The numbers must not be taken in their literal sense. It is only a poet's way of expressing absolute truths.

The *Upanisads* discuss fundamental problems about the truth

of the world, and in doing so, there are citations from the original texts of the Vedas. This itself shows that they were aware of the philosophical background of the original texts and that they were trying to understand the problems indicated by such texts.

They were not evolving any brand *new* philosophy nor were they trying to move along a *new* channel of thought, deviating from the old currents. There is no doubt about the relative chronology of the original texts of the Vedas and the *Upanisad*, and passage of time implies also a progression with a change and an advance; but an advance does not mean a break. We have only hints in the poetry of the original texts of the Vedas about the doctrines regarding the nature of the Absolute and the relation of the world of experience to that Absolute, as could have been current in those early days. But the thinkers of the *Upanisadic* period must have had more material for their purpose perserved from the earlier days, than what we now have.

In the poem about the Person, there is an attempt to present in poetic form, what is absolute and what cannot be expressed in language. From that Absolute there arose the differentiation and from that arose another Person of a conditioned nature. By certain numbers and measurements the poet tried to give some idea of the immensity of that Absolute in comparison with the phenomenal world. We get no information about the Absolute from that poem; rather, we are told in that poem that it is impossible for us to know what the Absolute is, and that it is equally impossible for the Poet to describe its nature in language and thereby communicate to others some idea of its nature. The most that could be expressed there is that the Absolute is all this and must more.

In the poem about the condition of the world prior to diversification, there is a more successful attempts to give in language form some idea about the Absolute. Even here the description is negative. Nothing that we now see, nothing that

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is experienced now, was there in the world at that stage. It was all darkness. The distinction between what is and what is not could not be applied to the condition at that time. Neither death nor immortality had any application to the condition in that stage. Still there was life though without the function of life. The essence of life was alone there, and in that essence of life there arose a will and a mental activity. It is just One, and there is nothing other than that One.

In the description of Visvakarman (All-maker) there is the question about the material for the construction of the world corresponding to the material which a builder of houses uses in constructing house. What was the support on which he could have been sitting while working on the construction of the house? The reply is implied that no one knows that material and that there was nothing on which there could have been an abode.

We get only some implications about the philosophical background for the poetry of the Vedas. We do not have a direct knowledge of that philosophy. What is quite certain is that according to the thinkers of that time, the world in which they lived and worked is not something to be ignored, something which was only an appearance, something to be ignored, something which was only an appearance, something that had no basic material beneath. The world is something real, has some reality as the foundation. There is an intelligence behind the formation of the changing and moving world, and there is also some plan and some design behind the formation, being the product of the operation of an intelligence. Thus the two fundamental views behind the philosophy of the times are (1) the positive background and (2) the design, the orderly plan behind the formation of the world of experience. In the original texts of the Veda, there is no specific statement of what that fundamental positive reality is behind the changing and moving world. We have only terms like what does not move, what does not decay, what does not die. There is also the term

Sambha (what is firm). It is in the *Upanisads* that we find the term being finally settled to express this ultimate reality behind the phenomenal world, and the term is *Brahman*.

But the term *Brahman* did not mean the ultimate truth in the early Vedic literature. Various attempts have been made in modern times to trace the meaning of this term and settle its etymology and to get at certain cognates to this term in related languages.

The nature of the Absolute is that it is a combination into a unit of three elements, Truth (*Satya*), Knowledge (*cit*) and Bliss (*Ananda*). That it is positive in nature. That it is knowledge shows that intelligence is at the formation of the world. That it is Bliss shows that what is called the world is not a seat of suffering, a result of sin; man and the world are by nature of the form of happiness, and what is called suffering is only an accident; man is found to suffer through an error and when the truth is known, man is found to enjoy to be of the nature of happiness.

In the *Rgveda*, the word *Brahman* means a song about the gods, who represent the various aspects of the ultimate truth. There are many passages where there is a reference to the composition of a song, and the word used is *Brahman*. There is also its correlate *Brhat*, from the same root, and this word too means a song addressed to the gods. Any song or any poem is not a *Brahman* or *Brhat*. It is only such a poem or song which is addressed to the gods, which describes the true nature of the gods, that can secure a place among what are termed *Mantra* (sacred poem or song), that is designated by the term *Brahman* or *Brhat*.

The word for the recitation of poetry in the *Rgveda* is derived from the root *Vad* (to utter or to speak). In later Sanskrit also, this root has retained a meaning which is something more than "to say". The utterance of the sound in this context is related to musical sounds, and there is the term *Vadya* from

this root which means “a musical instrument”, that on which the musical sound is produced. There are many places in the *Rgveda* in which the term *Brhat* or *Brahman* is associated with the verb from the root *Vad* (to utter). This also shows that the word *Brahman* or *Brhat* means a song or a poem.

There is also the name *Brhaspati*, with *Brahmanaspati*, in which the former element is related to *Brhat* and *Brahman*. The latter element of the compound means “Lord”. The two words are the names of the god in the *Rgveda* and that god is specially connected with songs and poetry. The seven-fold words are familiar in the *Rgveda* in expressions like “*Sapta vanah*” which mean “the seven kinds of words”. *Brhaspati* has the epithet *Saptasya* and *Saptajihva* which mean “having seven mouths” or “having seven tongues”.

No one has raised any doubt about the general meaning of the term *Brhat* or *Brahman*, which is “prayer to the gods”. The differences are only in respect of the etymology of the word, its original meaning and the later change of its meaning as the “ultimate reality”. The term has been associated with “spells” and “magical power” and other factors that are connected with primitive tribes. But there can be no doubt that the word *Brhat* means “high class poetry” composed by poets with a transcendental vision. This must be the original meaning.

Brhat and *Brahman* are convertible terms. They mean exactly the same thing. There is the name of the metre called *Brhati*, and this is the feminine form of the word *Brhat*. There are other words in which the feminine form denotes a metre and a form in the neuter gender denotes a metre and a form in the neuter gender denotes a song in that metre. Thus we have the feminine form *Gayatri* as the name of a metre, while the neuter form *Gayatra* means a song. Both are from the root *Gai* (to sing). It is true that from the feminine form *Gayatri* meaning a metre, the neuter form to denote a song in that metre is *Gayatra*, and that similarly from the feminine

form *Brhati*, the neuter form should be *Barhata* to denote the song in the *Brhati* metre; and this form occurs in that meaning. But the form *Brhat* is also used in the sense of such a song. There are also similar formations like *Jagat* meaning a song in the *Jagati* metre, besides the term *Jagata* in the name sense.

But this does not take us any nearer to the etymology or the original meaning of the word. We do not know why the metre and a song in that metre are called by this term. There are many terms denoting metres and songs, used in the *Rgveda*, of which we do not know either the etymology or the original meaning. There is the words *Vaka* meaning a kind of song, from the root *Vac* (to speak). There is also the term *Sakvari*, which means a kind of song, the word also means a metre; the word must be related to the root *Skak* (to be able). The root also has relation to "instruction". There is also the term *Rathantara*, which must mean "what overtakes (*Tara*) a chariot (*Ratha*)".

All such terms have settled down to some specific meanings. But we are not at all sure whether the terms had the same restricted sense in the original states also. We do not know the language of the *Rgveda*. There can be little doubt that the word *Brhat* and *Brahman* are to be traced to the root *Brh* (to expand, to wax, to grow). I do not know why the word came to mean song of poetry. There are also other terms that are equally doubtful, so far as their original meaning is concerned. Terms like *Gayatri* and *Anustubh* are related to song, since the roots themselves mean "to sing"; *Gayatri* is from the root *Gai* (to sing) and *Anustubh* is from the root *Stubh* (to sing in praise) with the preposition *Anu* (after). But how did the word *Sakvari* form the root *Sak* (to be able or to instruct) come to be associated with poetry and song? The words *Brhat* and *Brahman* also came to be associated with songs for a similar reason. In this connection, we must not ignore the relation of song and poetry to the formation of the world.

The great poet Dirghatamas says that *Sindhu* (river) was established firm in the heaven through the song in *Jagati* metre and the Sun-god (Surya) was seen in the song known as *Rathantara* (what overtakes a chariot). Indra was able to kill *Vrtra* and *Vala* through the power to the songs gods developed their powers to kill the demons through the songs and the songs were inspired by the gods.

The terms *Nama* (name) and *Pada* (position) are used in identical meanings in the *Rgveda*. They are the concealed positions and the secret names. Taken along with the view expressed by the Dirghatamas that only a fourth part of the language is in use among men and that the three parts are concealed in the cave which only poets can see, we have to identify the place and the name, the denotation and the word. In this way, *Brahman* is not merely the song, but ultimately the truth expressed in that song. And here it must be remembered that every song is not a *Brahman*; only such songs that describe the truth in the form of gods or in the form of the Absolute, seen by the poets of transcendental vision, can be called *Brahman*.

The language of poetry need not be identical with the language of the people, and even with the language of science and philosophy. The poets of the *Rgveda* used the term *Brhat* or *Brahman* in the sense of poetry; that does not mean that at that time the word did not have the meaning of "what is sung about in that song". I cannot say anything definite about the meaning of the words in the time of *Rgveda*, whether it meant only song at that time and whether the meaning of "ultimate truth" was a later transformation at the time of the *Upanisads*. It is not at all impossible that the term *Brahman* meaning the "absolute truth" in the language of philosophy, was used in the *Rgvedic* poetry as a kind of song about that "truth". But there is the difficulty that there is no instance of the word clearly meaning "truth" in the *Rgveda*.

In considering the meaning of the term *Brahman* in the

Rgveda, we have to take not of two words more in the Vedic literature. There is the combination of the word *Brahman* with words from the root *Vad* (to utter or to recite) occurring many time in the *Rgveda*, and there is the term *Brahmavadin* in the masculine and *Brahmavasdini* in the feminine meaning “one who sings about *Brahman*”. Here the connection of *Brahman* with “song about the ultimate truth” is quite clear, and later on the term *Brahmavadin* came to mean some one who discourses on that “truth” (need not be in songs).

But there is the other term *Brahmacarin* that occurs in the *Rgveda* to designate a particular type of person. In later language, a *Brahmacarin* is one who studies the Vedas. In so far as the student marries after his term of study, *Brahmacarin* came to mean “a bachelor” a “celebate”, and *Brahmacarya* meant “celebacy”, “abstinence from association with women”. There is only a single verse about a *Brahmacarin* in the *Rgveda*, and this verse is repeated in the *Atharvaveda*. In the *Atharvaveda* there are also two poems about *Brahmacarin*. From the description, a *Brahmacarin* must be one who leads a particular kind of life different from the normal, with peculiar costumes and with peculiar codes of conduct. Abstinence from association with women seems to have been an obligation with them. There is reference to a process for crushing the sexual impulse in a *Brahmacarin*, in the *Atharvaveda*. He must be growing his hair and his beard. They are the ascetics.

He must have been styled a *Brahmacarin* in so far as he lives (*Carin*) a life dedicated for the knowledge of *Braman*. In this term, the element can mean only the truth and not the song about that truth. It is for this reason that I suggested the meaning of “ultimate truth” for the word even in the *Rgveda*, so far as philosophical language is concerned; in the language of poets, it meant only the song about that truth.

The word used in the *Rgveda* for the ultimate is *Atman*. Just as there is some doubt about the etymology and original

meaning of the word *Brahman*, and different views have been put forth on the point by scholars, there is the same doubt and the same difference of view regarding the etymology and the original meaning of the word *Brahman*, and different views have been put forth on the point by scholars, there is the same doubt and the same difference of view regarding the etymology and the original meaning of the word *Atman* also. Many of the modern views that are expressed are as fanciful as the etymologies for words suggested by ancient commentators, if not more fanciful. I found that the word *Atman* must be related to the word *Prana*, both being derived from the root *An* (to breath). In the poem about the condition of the world prior to diversification, there is the statement that the One, Ultimate Reality breathed without a breath of air. It is in that "One" that there arose a will which produced the diversification and differentiation in the Absolute. That Absolute is of the nature of the essence of life, though there is no life-function in it.

In the *Upanisads* there are various discussions recorded about the nature of that Ultimate, conducted by the various thinkers of the time in their own gardens among themselves or between the teacher and the disciple. There were also discussions conducted in the royal courts in the presence of kings who were as great thinkers as others. The nature of the Absolute and the why and the how of the change of that Absolute into the phenomena of the world: this is the topic of practically all the discussions.

We experience many different objects in the world and we are also able to recognise some gradation of finer and finer things constituting the world; there is also the relation of cause and effect found coming within our experience in our normal life. They apply the ordinary terms that denote such a gradation and variation to express the gradations and variations in the constitution of the world. When they use terms like the various senseorgans and the mind or when they use terms

like the various Elements, namely, Water, Fire, Air and Ether (*Akasa*), they had in their mind certain aspects of the physical world that are finer and finer in the formation of the physical world. What we know as senseorgans and what we know as the Elements are all forms of the physical world and it is not they which are really meant in the *Upanisads* by the terms that ordinarily denote such objects. this was the case in the *Rgvedic* terminology also , where the Atmosphere and the Heaven really meant finer and deeper aspects of the world and not the Atmosphere and the Sky and we see.

All there finer and finer aspects of the world are only stages in the formation of the changing and moving world, and not one of them is the Absolute. The Absolute is not what can be known, what can be expressed in language, what can be communicated to another. The Absolute is what is described in literature. The entire literature and the entire lore known to the people and studied by the people have reference only to aspects of the changing and the moving world and not to that Absolute.

There are reference to various disciples who had studied everything that is found in literature, everything that is comprehended within the schemes of normal study and the scope of understanding, and who yet did not know the Absolute. Even a sage (Rsi) like Narada enumerates the various items of study that he had finished, and yet it is found that he did not really know. During the discussion, various thinkers try to explain their own views about the Absolute by going backward along a series of finer and finer objects, and yet even at the final end they find themselves only within the realm of the phenomenal world, and they are nowhere near the Absolute, nowhere within sight of the Absolute.

There is practically nothing in the *Upanisads* that fall outside of what has been said in the poem in the *Rgveda* about the condition of the world prior to diversification: in the Absolute there is neither a "Being" nor a "non-being"; there may be

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“Life Essence”, but no life-function, no breathing process, and no distinction lie death and immortality. Why and how did all this change come about? That Absolute in the Ultimate stage—he alone can know the answer, and perhaps he too does not. We come only to a negative notion of what is positive in its nature. We do not know: it is not this , it is not this.

Then, is it a failure to know , is it a surrender to despondency regarding in Absolute truth in the world of changes? The answer to this question given the *Upanisads* is an absolute “No”. The world is positive both in its phenomenal nature and in its Absolute nature. We experience the world as positive and what is positive cannot go back on a negative, on a void. However back we go, we must be all through in the realm of a positive truth. We experience ourselves also as a knowing agent and not as an ignorant existence. This also shows that however backwards we proceed regarding the nature of our real being, we must always remain in the realm of life and of knowing. A stage cannot come when life and knowing cease and when there is reached a condition of “death”. It is an intellectual necessity that in both directions, whether we trace our life and our experience backwards to its source or forwards to its ultimate evolution, the final end must be “life” and “knowing” and “positive existence”. Life cannot lead to death and knowing cannot lead to ignorance and existence cannot end in void.

This has been the experience of those who had developed the capacity to see “beyond”. They had tried to express their knowledge in poetic language, and the *Upanisads* presuppose such a poetic record as their basis. The poetry that the people of the *Upanisadic* age were in possession of, deal with only the changing world and not with the Absolute, and this limitation is a necessity, having regard to the nature of what can be the Absolute. If something can be expressed in language form and communicated to others, that is no “Absolute”. Thus the *Rgvedic* poetry has a value in understanding the nature of

the Absolute, and this value has its own limitations.

The "beyond" cannot be learned on the authority of others, while others can show the way to that beyond, point out the direction towards that "beyond". The *Rgvedic* poetry must be accepted as sign-post at cross-roads and should not be treated as resthouses where one can break his journey. We do not know how for the first time some one could find out the Path towards that "dark" region. From the *Rgvda* we know only this much that Yama had such a vision, and we have no information of the method of developing that power. He had many associates and they had instituted some system of rituals whereby they and those who came after were also able to reach that same "beyond". Although the ritual may be some specific form, in essence it is the path of the movement of the Law of the world, based on the arch-type of the operation of that Law which started diversification in the world.

Activities according to the Law of the world keeps one within the changing and moving phenomenal world. It is only by developing certain super-normal powers that one can understand the nature of the Absolute out of which the phenomenal world arose. That is why there is a distinction drawn between the fruits of active life according to the Law of the world and the fruits of such super-normal powers that can be developed. This does not amount to any condemnation of the active life. What is condemned, if any condemnation is implied, is only the tendency to stop at the active life. The Vedic poetry shows that there is implied, is only the tendency to stop at the active life. The Vedic poetry shows that there is a "beyond". The *Upanisads* show that the "beyond" is something different from all that we experience. There is absolute identity of purpose in both. The *Upanisads* contain descriptions of rituals; they allude to the literature relating to such rituals, cite from them as authority and expound the doctrines implied in such literature.

14 : *Adhvara*

The *Upanisads* cannot be understood unless we accept the texts as extensions and continuations of the ritualistic texts starting with the *Rgveda* and concluding with the *Brahmanas*. In the same way there are considerable portions in the *Rgveda* that cannot be understood except as the sources of the *Upanisad*. Those who had learned the texts and who do not yet *know* the truth, approach those who are expected to have known, and ask them questions about the Absolute, and later they receive the illumination. This is what we find in the case of *Dirghatamas*. Both the doctrines and the methods found in the *Upanisads* can be traced to the *Rgveda* and must be so traced along a continuous line of development backwards.

I cannot say definitely whether in describing the Absolute as a combination of the three elements of *Sat* (Truth), *Cit* (Knowledge) and *Ananda* (Bliss), there is a hint that certain currents were visible in the history of Indian thought even at that time which went against such a doctrine. There developed in later times in India a view that the Absolute is a void (opposite of what is meant by *Sat* or positive truth), that what is called knowledge is only an accident, a series of momentary phenomena (the opposite of what is meant by the term *Cit*) and that there is only suffering in the world (opposite of what is meant by *Ananda*). That a positive reality, intelligence and bliss form the fundamental in the world became an established doctrine in India, which doctrine had its origin even in the earliest stages of the Vedic period. It is this doctrine that has given a definite form to the philosophical thought of India.

Adhvara

The traditional explication of the term *adhvara*-, 'sacrificial ceremony' as 'not injuring, devoid of harm or mischief (*adhvara*-), which is, for instance, given by Sayana on *Rgveda* (RV) 8.13.30, *adhvare himsarahite yajne* or as 'not decaying, imperishable', proposed, e.g., by the same commentator on

RV 3.28.5, adhvaram avinasinam, is untenable. A translation 'that which may not be disturbed or interfered with' cannot substantiate this etymology and has therefore rightly been rejected by Benfey and Grassmann, who pointed out that the root *dhvar-* means 'to hurt, injure', not 'disturb'.

Nowadays, most scholars seem to be agreed upon the etymological relation between *adhvara-* and *adhvan-*, 'way, course, journey', assuming an ancient — *r/n* — stem to underlie both the words. With regard to the semantic aspects of this etymology — which is indeed quite acceptable — scholars are, however, far from having established a *communis opinio*: Jahanson's suggestion, viz. a semantic development 'Gang' > 'feierlicher Gang' > 'Feier, Zeremonie' ('walk, course, march' > 'solemn, ceremonious course or march' > 'solemnity, ceremony'), though endorsed by other scholars — La Terza, Pokorny, Mayrhofer—as one of those regrettable, superficial and mistaken attempts to account for semantic shifts of which Indo-European etymological literature is full. It is simply not possible to trace changes in meaning of terms belonging to the vocabulary of ancient religions etc. without a thorough knowledge of the contextual occurrences of the words concerned and without studying them against the background of the civilisation in which they were current. Grassmann wisely refraining, it is true, from adducing non-Indian parallels, had already, at an earlier date, supposed the semantic transition to have been 'way' > 'course' > 'religious festival', which, for reasons which are to follow, is likewise unconvincing. Debrunner, questioning the etymological relation between *adhvara-* and *adhvan-*, quotes E. Leumann, according to whom the former word originally meant: 'in accordance with the rite' ("dem Ritus entsprechend"), and *adhvan-* should be taken in the transferred sense of 'norm, rite' (which however does not occur). Whereas Renou in an earlier article tried to make the connection between *adhvan-* and *adhvara-* clear by a reference to the movements or displacements ('*deplacements*') on the sacrificial ground

which are indeed one of the characteristics of the activity of an *adhvaryu* while performing his ritual duties, modified his interpretation, later on, thinking of the 'ways and means' in charge of which the *adhvaryu* has to perform various actions, returning in 1957 to "the walking (of the officiants) on the sacrificial ground."

In my opinion none of these explications will conviction to anyone who takes the trouble to examine the words *adhvan-* and *adhvara-* in their Vedic contexts. The word *adhvan-*, to begin with clearly indicates, in the other Vedic texts, 'a way or road which leads to a goal, a comparatively safe and pasable (also for horses: *RV* 6:46 13; 10.22.4) way, a road which makes good going, a journey." More literal uses occur, e.g. *RV* 1.31.16...*raimrso...imam adhvanam yam agama durat*, 'do not mind (O Agni) the way which we have come from afar, *Atharva-veda (AV)* 3.15.4, the same line with *duram*: '...bear with the distant road we have gone', to be recited in a rite on behalf of a merchant who wishes to be successful in trade); 10.108.1, *dure hy adhva jagurih paracaih*; 2.13.2, *samano adhva pravatam anusyade*; 10.185.2; *Vajasaneyi Samhita (VS)* 9.13. The word is also used in connection with divinities such as Dawn and Night: *RV* I.113.3; the Sun: 1.71.9; 10.179.2; Agni: 7.42. 2; 10.115.3; Soma: 9.52.2; Indra. 1.104.2; cf. 4.16.2; the Maruts: 6.50.5, etc. Sometimes, these ways of divine powers are said to be ancient, customary, traditional (*pratna-*: 9.52.2) or 'long since obtained' (*sanavitta-*: 7.42.2); that is to say, the god travels along his special road from time immemorial. It is not surprising to find a more or less metaphorical or at least extended application of a word of this meaning which must also have, in daily life, been in frequent use: 8.27.17, the man who is protected by Varuna and other gods 'goes his journeys along ways which are easy to traverse' (*sugebhir yaty adhvanah*); cf. also 1.72.7; *VS* 26.1. Yet, these ways and journeys are certainly not always concrete and mundane. When Pusan protects the road and Bhaga, the divine distributor of weath, has made his presence

felt, the broad way towards well-being is open: *RV* 8.31, II, *etu pusa...urur adhva svastaye* (cf. Sayana: *tato margarakksake pusany agate sati uruh vistirnah adhva margah svastaye asmakam avinasaya a bhavatu*). Then Pusam will guide the sacrificer to a good pasture: I.42.8 (cf. st. 1). It may be recalled parenthetically that Soma, when ritually offered, is in 10.76.3 stated to have paved the way for Manu, i.e. the father of the human race, who is believed to have instituted sacrifices and religious ceremonies (*manave gatum asret*). The end of the way is however concealed and kept from human knowledge: in 4.5.12 Agni, who is the lord of wealth in heaven and on earth (st. 11), is implored to say what will befall those speaking, because they do not know the farthest point.

Two places are of special interest because they exhibit both *adhvan*- and one of the other terms which are studied in this article. *RV* I.23.16, reads *ambayo yanty adhvabhir jamayo adhvariya* *tam*. "the mothers of those who perform a sacrificial rite, (their) sisters (i.e. the waters) go along (their) ways, Sayana explaining *adhvariya* *tam* *adhvaram atmana icchatam asmakam...* and *ta apah adhvabhih devayajanamargaih... gacchanti*. *RV* 7.42.1d, *yujyatam adri adhvarasya pesah* is followed by 2a *sugas te agne sanavitto adhva*. These places do not however prove the etymological connection (in the modern sense of this term) to be known to the poets, because 'popular', pseudo- or secondary etymologies play an important part in their works.

What is, however, worthy of special mention is that *adhvan*- occurs sometimes in similes illustrating ritual processes or procedures. Cf. *RV* 1.173.11, *yajno hi smedram kas cid rndhan...tirthe naccha tatr sanam okonaccha tatr sanam oko dirgho na sidhram a krnoty adhva*, for, any act of worship which is successful...brings, like a long way the man who reaches his goal, Indra, like a thirsty man to a ford, towards the (sacrificer's) abode.' Here the *yajna*-, 'sacrificial

worship' is compared to a way; just as a way leads a man home, thus the sacrifice may bring the god to the dwelling of the sacrificer. In RV 7.589.3, it is no doubt the liturgical words of praise pronounced by the poet which are expected to lead those on behalf of whom the text is recited to the goal: *...jujosann in marutah sustutim nah / gato nadhva vi tirati jantum pra nah sparhabhir utibhis tireta*, 'that the Maruts take delight in our excellent praise; just as a trodden path will lead a person further, so may it further us with (your) enviable assistance. Whereas in 10.51.6 the sacrificial fire is compared to a carriage-horse—like a horse which covers a certain distance, the fire conveys the oblations to heaven by the paths which lead to the gods (st. 5 *pathah...devayanam*): *agneh purve bhrataro artham etam rathivadhvanam anv avarivuh* — the poet of RV 6.16.3 addresses Agni as follows: *vettha hi vedho adhvanah pathas ca devanjasa agne yajnesu sukrato*, 'for thou, O disposer, knowest, O god Agni, truly the ways and paths, at (i.e. on the occasions of) the sacrifices, O thou resourceful one'.

It is worth while to examine also the relevant occurrences of *adhvan-* in post-Rgvedic texts. VS 5.33, addressing the Sun (*Surya*) is of special interest; *adhvaman adhvapate pra ma tira svasti me smin pathi devayane bhuyat*, 'O lord of the ways, lead me onward; may I be happen on this path which reaches the gods.' This path, of course, is the way of the sacrifice: *devayanaprapake yajnamarge mame kalyanam bhuyat* (Mahidhara); cf. *Pancavimsa Brahmana (PB)* 1.4.1. The combination of *adhvan-* and *pathi-* occurs also in *Taittiriya Samhita (TS)* 2.5.11.2, to denote the ways and paths which lead those who apply the ritual methods correctly to the world of the gods and the world of men: 'Clever indeed were the *hotras* of old; therefore the ways were held apart, and the paths did not conflict.'

In the Brahmanas the word under examination is sometimes used to denote the way to heaven or to the gods. *PB* 25.10.16,

after arguing that the world of heaven is situated at the same distance as the spot where the Sarasvati is lost in the sands of the desert, observes: *sarasvati-sammitenadhvana svargam lokam yanti*, 'they go to the world of heaven by a journey commensurate with the S.' In 4.6.17 the words 'by means of six months they go hence on their way, by means of six they return' (*sadbhir ito masair adhvanam yanti sadbhih punar ayanti*) are explained by the comentator:...*adhvanam eva yanti svargapraprtisadhanamargam eva yanti...imam eva lokam pratyagacchanti*, the text continuing; 'Where, then, is the world of heaven, for reaching which they perform a great Soma sacrifice?' In 6.15.3 *adhvan-* occurs in a simile: one applies the strongest hymns of praise in order to reach the world of heaven just like noblemen who, when about to undertake a journey (*adhvanam*), yoke their strongest horses. These ways between heaven and earth—mention of which is made also in *Aitareya Brahmana (AB)* 3.25.3: 4.20.21; cf. *Satapatha Brahmana (SB)* 12.4.1.10—are, according to SB 2.3.4.37, dangerous. That the ascension of the successful sacrificer to the heavenly regions was indeed considered a journey along a way through the atmosphere may appear also from *Jaiminiya Brahmana (JB)* I. 165; *yo va anavaso 'dhvanam praiti nainam sa samasnute (atha yah savasah praiti sa evainam samasnute/ayam vava samudra 'narambhenno yad idam antariksam; tasya nanavasenttham gatir asti nettham.../*

The author of *AB* 4.30.8 co-ordinates a journey and a long sacrificial session in the following way: *mahantam va ete 'dhvanam esyanto bhavanti ye samvatsaram va dvadasaham vasate*, they who perform the year-session or the twelve-day rite are about to go a long journey'. The next paragraph explains what is meant. By reciting a hymn and invoking the gods for the sake of safety (*RV* 10.66) one secures safety, i.e., a safe passage (*svastyayanam*) so that one attains 'the other side of the year' (*svasti samvatsarasya param asnute*). 'One goes', it is stated in 5.30. I, with days

and nights through the year, for they are the wheels of the year. If one sacrifices after sunrise, that is as if one were to perform swiftly a journey with a chariot with two wheels.' In this connection attention may be drawn to *Kausitaki Brahmana (KB)* 7.7, 'the sacrifice is a charior of the gods' (devaratho va esa yad yajnah). The introductory and concluding oblations are its two sides. He who makes them alike, just as one can perform a journey (*adhvanam*) as described by driving on in a chariot with two sides, so safely, so safely he attains the world of heaven. See also *Taittiriya Brahmana (TB)* 1.5.12.53.

Whereas *adhvan-* could thus denote in the ritual spheres the way leading the sacrificer to the heavenly regions, in the Upanisads the knowledge of the the all-important esoteric doctrine is compared to a means of transport enabling a man to go long distance (*adhvanam: Brhadaranyaka Upanisad (BAU)* 4.2.1), as well as the journey to the supreme abode successfully brought to an end by the man who has the right insight and control over the mind and the senses (*Katha Upanisad (Ka. U)* 1.3.9). Moreover, the term applies also to the way by which those beings go and return who, after death, are subject to reincarnations (*Chandogya Upanisad (Ch. U)* 5.10.5). Thus *Kaus. U* I.1 also speaks of 'another way in the world (*loka-*) in which a person may be placed'.

There is no need to cite further examples. It is however worth recalling that words for 'way' or 'path' are frequently used not only in India, but also in many other parts of the world in a religious sense, especially to denote the way of salvation. The idea that, like all phenomena in this universe, man is, either in this world or towards the other world, on the way, whereas God, the goal, abides in absolute rest is common to many religions. Sometimes this way is conceived as the morally and religiously correct behaviour of men, sometimes as the path of mysticism by which the individual soul approaches the divine presence to be absorbed in the highest Reality.

Elsewhere again the idea of the way has developed into a journey towards heaven. In the Veda the belief comes into prominence that on the one hand the gods travel the belief comes into prominence that on the one hand the gods travel through the universe, visiting the sacrificial grounds of the sacrificers and on the other the oblations, the sacrificial gifts (*daksinas*), the religious merits of the sacrificers and the successful sacrificers themselves may travel heavenward. In short, the *pantha devayanah* are too well known to be in need to comment. Cf. also e.g., *RV* 2.41.5; 3.54.9; 4.35.3; 4.45.6; 5.47.6; 7.73.3; 10.57.1 : by means of the sacrifice the way between gods and men has in the days of yore been cleared : 1.83.5, Thus the *Rgveda* speaks of sacrificers who have set out on the path which, being secure from menace, leads to well-being (6.51.16, *api pantham aganmahi svastigam, anehasam*). The importance attached by the ancient poets and ritualists to terms for 'way' may appear also from a passage such as *RV* 10.2.3, *a devanam api pantham aganma*, 'we have set foot on the way of the gods.' Here Sayana explains *vaidika-magram*, as 'the Vedic way', or 'method of escaping (an undesirable destiny after death) in accordance with Vedic ritualism.'

Turning now to the term *adhvard-* it may first be observed that, as is borne out by the accent, it must be of 'adjectival' origin: 'related to, or concerned with a way or journey', travelling, or 'that which proceeds on its path'. Cf. *patara-* 'flying' beside *potanga-*, 'bird' (an ancient-*r/n-* stem: Hett. *pattar*, *paddan-* of 'wing'). One is therefore tempted to answer in the affirmative the question as to how far this theoretically probable 'original' sense is still reflected in passages such as *RV* 8.35.23, *namovake prasthite adhware nara vivaksanasya pitaye/a yatam...*, "come, O Lords", the Asvins are addressed 'to (into the presence of) the act of homage, to the sacrificial ceremony which has departed',—*i.e.*, has started and is in progress.—with a view to drinking the *soma*...' This translation which seems preferable to

Geldner's 'at the oblation which has been dished up' ("bei der vorgesetzten Opfergabe") is supported by other passages exhibiting the compound *pro-i-*, 'to go on, advance, proceed' in connection with *adhvara-*. In *RV* 8.13.30, it reads: *syam dirghaya caksase praci prayaty adhware*, 'he (Indra) is long to be seen while the sacrificial ceremony is going on further' (*gacchati pravartmane sati*, Sayana); in 8.71.12, *agnim vo devayajyayagnim prayaty adhware*, 'I (invoke) for you Agni with worship of the gods, Agni while the sacrificial ceremony is going on' (*prakarsena gacchati pravrtte sati*, Sayana); 10.21.6, *tvam yajnesv ilate gne prayaty adhware*; similarly, 6.10.1, *prayati yajne*. A sacrifice *yajna-* was considered to go or travel; *AV* 18.4.15 is quite explicit on this point: *huto yam samsthito yajna eti / yatra purvam ayanam hutanam*, this offered sacrifice, which is completed, goes by (or to) the ancient track of the (former) oblations.'

There is no need to cite all stanzas in which *adhvara-* and words for 'way' are used in the same context, but it will be well to recall Sayana's interpretation of *RV* 3.4.4, *ardhvo vam gatur adhware akary urdhva socimsi prasthita rajamsi*, 'rising upwards' your (Agni and the *barhis* are meant) course (*yajnamargah*) has been undertaken at the sacrificial rite: rising upwards the (Agni's) flames have set out for the atmosphere' and 3.57.4; 9.98.3 ('moving upwards').

In *AV* 5.12.2 Agni is requested to place the *adhvara-* of those speaking among the gods. Whatever the original connotations of the word might have been, it must denote something which can be removed or transferred. In *AV* 18.2.32, the *adhvara-* is stated to have 'entered' (*nivista-*) Yama, the ruler of the realm of the deceased. I would now be inclined to revise my opinion of *AV* 14.1.46, *vi nayanty adhvaram* which — though difference from the parallel stanza *RV* 10.40.10, *vi mayante adhware*, which may mean, 'they take turns at the sacrificial rite' is translatable as 'they (*i.e.* those concerned lead) way (*i.e.* perform) the rite'.

Adityas

There are some group of gods in *Rgveda*, the most celebrated of which is that of the Adityas, the son of Aditi or Infinity. This group is lauded in five whole hymns, parts of five others and incidentally, in several others in the *Rgveda*.

In his *Vedic Mythology* Macdonell has dwelt upon the characteristic features of these deities and has ably refuted the theory of Roth that they were identical with Amesha spentas of the Avesta and that of Oldenberg, that they originally represented sun, moon and the five planets. Macdonell, however, regarded the names of the gods this group includes and their number to be indefinite. We on the other hand think that not only the names and number of the gods of this group are definite but the various stages by which this group attained its final number in the *Rgvbda* are also discernible. The present paper is intended to throw light on this matter.

In one verse of the *Rgveda* the number of the Adityas is said to be seven, which in another verse it is said that Aditi had at first only seven sons, but afterwards gave birth to the eighth, Martanda. These statements make it clear that at one stage the number of the Adityas was regarded as seven and later it rose to eight. The question that naturally arises is this. Was the original number of the Adityas seven or was it even less and later rose to seven? The matter needs investigation.

The *Rgveda*, as we have said, lauds the Adityas in a very large number of verses scattered therein, besides devoting five whole hymns to them. It is remarkable that in a large number of these passages the Adityas who are invoked are clearly specified as Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman. In two of the five hymns addressed to the Adityas, the gods mentioned are Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman alone. In I. 136.3 the Adityas are clearly specified as Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. In VII. 40.4 the three kings Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman are praised along with their mother Aditi. In VII. 51.2 the Adityas are

specified as Mitra, Aryaman and Varuna. In VII. 60.4 and 5 Mitra, Aryaman and Varuna alone are again called Adityas or sons of Aditi. In VIII. 47.9 Aditi is called the mother of Mitra, Aryaman and Varuna alone. In VIII.67.2 the Adityas are again specified as Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. In the last book of the *Rgveda* also, besides hymn 185, two other verses Proclaim Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman alone to be Adityas. We are thus driven to the conclusion that originally there were only three Adityas.

A careful perusal of the *Revedic* hymns makes it absolutely clear that the number of Adityas increased gradually. To the three original Adityas was in course of time added one more important deity. This was Indra. He is clearly called the fourth Aditya in *Rgveda* VIII. 52.7. This description is supported by some other hymns of the *Rgveda*. Thus in hymn II. 27 addressed to the Adityas, which contains as many as seventeen verses, the only four gods mentioned in all its verses, barring the first, are Varuna Mitra, Aryaman and Indra. The first verse enumerates the Adityas as Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Ruvijata, Varuna Daksa and Amsa. It is next to impossible to believe that the poet who in the later verses of this hymn mentions only Indra, besides Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman, should have omitted him when mentioning even some other gods in his enumeration of the Adityas. There can be little doubt that Indra is also mentioned in this verse by his epithet Tuvijata, 'Though this epithet is applied to other gods to in the *Rgveda*, it is most characteristic of Indra.

It would therefore be in the fitness of things to regard the word *tuvbijata* here as an epithet of Indra rather than an adjective qualifying Varuna. But even if one insists on regarding *tuvijata* as an adjective of Varuna it can not be denied that by referring to Indra in its verse 14, this hymn mentions seven Adityas in all, the most important being Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman and Indra. Again in verses 1-13 of hymn VIII. 47 celebrating the Adityas the only deity who is mentioned besides

Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman is Indra (verse 5). Similarly in hymn VIII. 67 addressed to the Adityas the only deity who is mentioned besides Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman is Indra (verse 8). Further it is to be noted that the only god, besides Mitra, who is coupled in the dual with Varuna and once expressly called an Aditya with his partner is Indra. The *Rgveda* thus proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the fourth deity included in the group of Adityas was Indra.

The deity who followed Indra in quick succession as an Aditya was Savitr, the Bhaga. The evidence of the *Rgveda* makes it perfectly clear that these were the two names of the same deity. Just as the god Brhaspati is also lauded by the name of Brahmanaspati, this god is lauded in many instances by the name of Savitr, in one hymn alone besides some scattered verses by the name of Bhaga, but more than a score of times by both the names. We have already seen above that when four Adityas are mentioned the fourth usually Indra. Since, however, Savitr, the Bhaga, followed Indra in quick succession, two of the verses of the *Rgveda* mention Savitr or Bhaga as the fourth Aditya along with Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman. Where, however, five Adityas are mentioned which is only once the case they are Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Indra and Savitr and Bhaga.

To this group of five Adityas were added the names of Daksa, and Amsa, perhaps simultaneously. Daksa is mentioned in one verse with the three original Adityas Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman. Amsa is similarly mentioned in one verse with these three Adityas. Otherwise, the names of these two Adityas are mentioned in the enumeration of seven Adityas in hymn II.27. Thus when three Adityas are mentioned they are always Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman, when four are mentioned they are usually these three with Indra, when four are mentioned, the fifth is Savitr, the Bhaga, and when seven are mentioned the sixth and seventh are Daksa and Amsa. In this way the number of Adityas came to be seven as stated in

hymn IX. 114.3 of the *Rgveda*.

In *Rgveda* X 72.8 it is stated that Aditi at first presented only seven sons to the gods and brought the eighth Martanda afterwards. This makes it absolutely clear that Martanda was in the *Rgveda* the last addition to the group of Adityas. But who was this Martanda? It is clear that it is not a name but only an epithet meaning born from a dead egg. It is well known that in later Sanskrit literature Martanda is an epithet of the sun. That this word is an epithet of the sun in the *Rgveda* also is indisputably proved by the fact that Surya is the only god, besides the seven others mentioned above, who is called an Aditya in several hymns occurring in the latest books of the *Rgveda*. Thus the eight Adityas of the *Rgveda*, in due order, are Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Indra, Savitr (the Bhaga), Daksa, Amsa and Surya (the Martanda).

In post-*Rgvedic* literature Daksa came to be known as or was substituted by Dhatr. In post-Vedic literature the number of Adityas swelled to twelve, the four that were added to the group being Visnu, Pusan, Tvastr, and Vivasvat, Visnu being regarded as the greatest of them.

Adma-Sad

The word *adma-sad*, in its different declensions, occurs six times in the *Rgveda*. No satisfactory explanation has been provided for this important word, the ordinary meaning given to it being 'guests at feast' or 'priests sitting at a feast or offering'.

Geldner suggests that the word means 'a fly' that sits on meals following Durga who explains it thus. He changes this rendering in some contexts. Oldenberg rightly observes that this meaning is unacceptable. The rendering fly goes against such stages as *admasadam nrnam* (7.83.7) which indicate the *admasad-s* to be men. It would be advantageous to examine all the occurrences of this word to get at its read

implication.

One thing that is remarkable with this word is that it is associated with the idea of waking or keeping awake, as also with chanting. Thus, we have Usas praised as *admasan na sesato bodhayanti* (RV 1.124.4). Here, though Usas is being praised, it does not clearly show that *admasad* denotes a woman as *Yaska* and *Sayana* think. The greater probability is that it refers to a male with whom Usas is being compared with regard to the act of awakening. We have, elsewhere, *admasad* denoting a *vipra* (*admasad vipra na jagrvith*, 8.44.29). We have noted above *admasad* as an epithet of *nrnam*. Again, it is used in reference to the mountains (6.30.3) in the masculine. Agni is said to be *admasadva* (6.4.4).

It will be clear from the above that the concept in *admasat* is that of a male. With this is associated the concept of awakening most probably by means of the chanting of the *mantras*. The word *vipra* in *vipro na jagruhi* indicates the same thing. Where the word *admasid* is used along with *nrnam*, it is directly associated with praise (cf., *nrnam admasadam upastutih*) and when Agni is said to be *admasadva*, he is also said to be *vadma*, suggesting praise. In the word *admasad*, the portion *adma* indicates 'food' (*lad+man*) and this has been accepted by all. *Admasad* will therefore, indicate a singer sitting at meals, or a chanting priest sitting at the offerings. It appears that it was the duty of this priest to keep awake during the night or wake up early in the morning and awaken the others. One priest awakening others is referred also elsewhere in the *Rgveda* (e.g., 10.101.1). Of all the occurrences of the word *admsad*, the most original and suggestive seems to be *admsad viprah...jagrvith* which may be compared with *jagrvadbhir havismdbhih* (3.29.2). The word *jagrvadbhih* occurs at two more places (7.5.1 and 10.91.1) and at the latter place the expression is *jagrvadbhih jaramanah*, connecting it with the mantra-praise (*viz. jaramaah*) in respect of Agni. There is

another word with the same import, viz. *jagrvamsah*, which occurs thrice in the *Rgveda* (1.22.21; 3.10.9 and 6.1.9; cf., also 8.5.3, *jagrvamsam*). The words *jagrvat* and *jagrvi* seem to be derived from *jagr.*, from /*gr* meaning 'to praise' and 'to keep awake, to praise' being the primary meaning. The concept is present also in the word *jagarana* which indicates not only the act of keeping awake (during the night) but also that of singing, and praising the deity. This is fully corroborated by the word *mantra-jagara*.

With the concept of *upastuti bedhana* and *jagrvitva* associated with the word *admasad* there should be no doubt about its indicating a priest who presided over the offerings and whose duty it was to rouse others himself being awake before to all, or, in other words a high priest. Exactly here lies the importance of the fact that the Vasisthas pride themselves as *admasad-s* on whose account the gods came to the help of Sudas (cf. 7.83.7, *satya nrnam admasadam upastutir deva esam abhavan deva deva-hutisu*). It is, again, due to the fact of the status of *admasads* that Agni is compared to a vipra who is an *admasad* (8.44.29), and Usas directly to *admasad* (1.124.4). The word *admasadya* (8.43.19) indicating the office or act of the *admasad*, is associated with Agni, who is referred to as *admasadva* (6.4.4).

The concept of *admasad* as the high priest officiating at the offerings (sacrificial food) and rousing Agni and the other priests by his mantras, has a close parallel in the *Vendidad* Ed. *Sacred Books of the East*), where (Vol. I, p. 56), Shraosh Varez is the god that awakens people of the prayer. The word *Sraosha* (cf., *sr*) indicates hearing, awakening and also punishing (those who do not 'listen' to the orders). This god is compared with a cock awakening people to the morning. He is also supposed to pronounce the *shrashat* life, (Vedic *Srau*at) which is the formula for the offering.

Aegle Marmelos

The present article is to show the significance of the *Aegle marmelos* or the wood apple tree (*bilva-*) Mainly from the ritualistic, mythical and medicinal point of view of the Veda. all plants and trees are sacred; and they possess the gifts of immortality, health and general prosperity. This principal lies at the root of all Vedic beliefs and myths connected with plants and trees. The (sacred) tree is thus deeply rooted in the Vedic religious beliefs and ideas of the human race. The spring, the rock, the tree are all visible manifestations of the divine spirit. The same divine spirit lives and works in all and manifests itself in each and all. The (sacred) tree was the source and the sustenance of life. Worship, sacrament, and mythic charm are closely associated with it.

Every big or small act promised the sacrificer riches in cattle and offspring, long life and bliss in the next world. On the other hand, the slightest negligence had to be assiduously atoned for, otherwise it would lead him into misery, distress or calamity. Thereby it is that even the ropes, brooms, sticks, sacrificial implements made of wood, skin, etc., and their numbers have meticulously been recorded, the materials of which they are made, their size, and their functions are prescribed with the same thoroughness as the squeezing of the *soma*-juice or the royal consecration of the king or the performance of the rites connected with birth and death etc.

The word *bilva-* : derivation. The word *bilva-* (in later language also *vilva-*) is derived from */bil* (Panini's *Dhatupatha* VI. 67 and X. 66) to split + the suffix *KvaN* (= -va-). Yaska derives the word from */bhr* to support or to nourish or from */bhid* to split.

The word *bhilva-* is of frequent occurrence in the Vedic texts. *bilva-* m. 'Aegle marmelos or the wood-apple tree'; n the Bilva fruit: f. 'Gardenia gummifera' (according to the native lexicographers).

I give here some MIA and NIA cognates of the word *bilva*-. Pali *billa*- 'fruit of *Aegle marmelos*': Prakrit *billa*-m. 'the tree and its fruit : Kashmiri *bil*, *bel* m. the tree; Panjabi *bill* m. the tree ; Hindi *bil* m. 'the tree'; Gujarati *bil* n. 'its leaf': *bili* f. 'the tree' : *bilu* n. 'its fruit; in some Western Pahari Dialects *bil* 'the tree and also its fruit':

baliva-adj. pertaining to the tree *Aegle marmelos*;n. 'its fruit'. Pali and Prakrit *bella* n.m. 'its fruit'; Kumayuni, Nepali, Assamese and Bengali *bel* 'the tree'; Oriya *bela*; Maithili, Bhojapuri, Awadhi and Hindi *bel* m. 'the tree' Old Marathi *bela* m. 'its leaves'; Marathi *bel* m. 'the tree', n. 'its fruit'; Simhalese *bela*, *beli* 'the tree'; Sindhi *bela* f. 'its fruit.

In IA this is a Dravidian loanword. According to T.Burrow : "The forms with -e-in the first syllable are not based on a Skt. vrddhied form *bailva*-, but represent Dravidian forms with -e-. The alternation e:i is based on Dravidian phonetic developments."

I record here a few Dravidian forms. Tamil *vellil*, *velliyam*, *vila*, *vilam*, *vilari*, *vilava*, *vilatti* 'wood-apple', Malayalam *vila*, *id.* ; Kannada *belala*, *belaval*, *belavala*, *bela*, *belavala*, *balola* 'id'; Telugu *Velaga* 'id'.

Habit of the tree. This tree is found throughout India and Pakistan, and a special variety is also found in Burma. This tree is normally cultivated, but in the Deccan a wild variety is also found. In the Himalayan region it is found up to 4,000 feet.

This is a medium sized thorny deciduous glabrous tree; spines 1 inch, straight, strong, axillary, Leaflets are 3-5, ovate-lanceolate, lateral sessile, terminal long-petioled. Flowers are 1-1/4 inches in diameter, greenish-white, sweet-scented; pedicels and calyx pubescent. Filaments are sometimes fascicled. Fruit is 2-5 inches in diameter, globose oblong or pyriform, rind grey or yellow; pulp sweet, thick, orange-

coloured. A species or variety with oblong fruit is grown in Burma. *Feronia elephantum* (Skt. *malura*-) and *Aegle marmelos* (*bilva*-) are closely related genera of one species each.

Two varieties of the fruit are available -a small and wild and a large cultivated one. The full grown fruit, when it just begins to ripen, is most suitable for medical purposes. Almost all part of the tree, viz, the fruit (both unripe and ripe), root-bark, leaves, rind of the ripe fruit and flowers, are used for medicinal purposes. The fruit is very valuable in habitual constipation, chronic dysentery and dyspepsia. It is one of the ingredients mentioned in *dasamula*- 'or the ten roots used in the *Ayurveda*'. This tree is also known as *sri-phala*- m., and n. 'its fruit' (see Visnu DS XLVI, 16 etc.)

Implements and Vessels made of the Aegle Marmelos (Bilva-). The materials used for the Vedic implements and vessels are stone, metal (normally bronze or copper), baked clay, wood bamboo, reeds, grass, skins, and animal horns. Among the implements and vessels the most important ones are those made of wood. Most of the wooden implements and vessels have their definite shape and dimensions. These trees are most suitable for sacrificial purposes:

asvatthc- '*Ficus religiosa*', *udumbara*- '*Ficus glomerata*', *karsmarya*- '*Gmelina arborea*', *khadira*- '*Acacia catechu*', *palasa*- '*Butea frondosa*', *bilva*- '*Aegle marmelos*', *vikankata*- '*Flacourtia sapida*' *sami*- '*Prosopis spiciger*' (see *Atharva-parisista* XXIII.6.5); but SB 13.3.20 prefers only the *bilva*-, *khadira*- and *undambara*. The following implements and vessels are made of *Aegle marmelos*:

samidhent-sticks-either of *khadira*- or of *bilva*-or of *udumbara*- or of *vikankata*-or of *rohitaka*- (*Andersonia rohitaka*)(Bh SS I.5.7).

paridhis (enclosing stick) -either of *bilva*-or of *khadira*-or

of *udumbara*- (SB 1.3.3.20; also see Varaha SS 1.2.1.30).

sukra-patra- (Skura cup) (Bh SS XIII.1.11; Baudh SS VII 6:46 (the cup pertaining to the *Asvins* : this can be either of *bilva*-or of *palasa*-); Ap SS XII.1.12).

danda- (staff)-*bilva*- and *palasa*-woods can be used as the staff by a Brahmana Gaut. DS 1.21; Asv GS I.19.13 (suitable for a Vaisya); Sankah DS 36).

yupa-the sacrificial post of which the sacrificial animal is tied, this can either be of *bilva*, or of *khadira*- or of *palasa*-, or of *rohataka*- (Ap SS VII.1.15; Bh SS VII.1.5-6). A sacrificer desirous of Brahman-splendour should prefer a sacrificial post of *bilva*- (TS II.1.8.1-2; TB III.8.20.1; SB IV.4.6; Ap SS VII.1.16; Bh SS VII.1.6) or a sacrificer desirous of proper food should prefer a post of this wood (AB II: 1; KB X.1; Ap SS VII.1.16).

The length of the post is either 3 or 4 *aratnis*, i.e. cubits (KB X.1) or 15 *aratnis* (SB IV.4.5), or 17 *aratnis* (SB IV 4.5; Ap SS XVIII.1.8), or 21 *aratnis* (SB SIII.4.45; SB IV.4.5; Hir SS XIV.2.40). And the number of the sacrificial posts depends upon the purpose and requirement of that particular rite. It has normally eight sides; (but sometimes only 4 sides: San SS XV.1.16); at the top is the *casala*-, wooden ring 13 *angulas* high and hewn out of the *yupa*-.

Myths associated with the Aegle Marmelos. It is by no means easy to define a myth. All myths seem to have one fact in common, that they are traditional; and they go back to a 'mytho-poetic-age', which represents certain stage in the development of human thought. According to R. Pettazzoni, "Myth is a true story because it is a sacred story, not only by virtue of its content but because of the concrete sacral forces which it sets to work. The recital of myths of the beginning of things is part and parcel of cult, because it is cult itself and helps to gain the ends for which cult is carried on, namely, the preservation and increase of life. "Thus, it appears that the

myths grew up or were invented to explain certain phenomena, beliefs, or customs. There are many "Theories of Myth'. Any how, classification of theories of myth is not an easy task.

In the Vedic beliefs and ideas we find close association between mythology and ritual. Between mythology and primitive history or folklore it is not easy to draw a definite line. Many of the early speculations of natural science have been embodied in Mythical form.

In the *Veda* we do come across many mythical accounts, which are connected either with some objects—big or small—or with some natural phenomena like trees, mountains, rivers, etc. Thus, the particular tree *Aegle marmelos* is no exception to this general belief.

At TS II.1.8.1-2, dealing with the 'Special Anima Sacrifice', the origin as well as the significance of the *bilva*- tree is shown through a myth. The myth runs as follows :

The gods thought of making atonement for yonder sun who did not shine; they offered a white cow to *Surya*, thereby they restored his brilliance. He who desires *Brahman*-splendour, for him he should offer this white cow to *Surya*, thereby he becomes resplendent. The *bilva*- tree was born at the very re-appearance of yonder sun. (Because of its divine origin) the sacrificial post of *bilva*-wood is used to acquire *Brahman*-splendour and (good) place of origin.

There is a similar mythical account of the divine birth of this tree at Mal S.III.9.3. In the same passage there is also reference to the birth of the *purna*-and *khatira*-trees. According to this myth yonder sun was here only, (the gods) stole him away from here to yonder world. From his brilliance was born the *bilva*- tree; thereby the sacrificial post of *bilva*- is employed by one who is desirous of *Brahman*-splendour, that (post) is for the attainment of *Brahman*-Splendour.

In a legend at SB XIII.4.4.8-9 it is said that *khakira-* was born out of Prajapati's bones, that is why the *khadira-* is hard and great strength; and the *bilva-* was born out of the marrow of this Prajapati which flowed from the ears. That is why the *bilva-* is endowed with the qualities of the marrow: it is yellowish like the marrow, its fruit is eatable from inside. In the rituals also the *bilva-* posts are inside, and the *khadira* ones are outside, for the marrow is inside, and outside the bones, thus, he puts them at their own place. Similarly, the two sets of *pitudaru-* (*Pinus deodara*) stands inside and the *bilva-* ones outside for the eyes are inside and the ears outside, thus he puts them in their own place.

The association of the *bilva-* tree with the acquisition of *Brahman*-splendour is quite frequent in the *Veda* (see, e.g., TS II.1.8.1-2; Mai S.III.9.3; SB IV.4.5; BH SS VIII.1.5-6 Ap SS VII.1.16); and its association with the acquisitions of proper food is also seen see, e.g., AB II.1; KB X.1; Ap SS VII.1.16). Whatever may be the substance and implication of these myths, but one thing is quite clear that this tree is of divine origin and has its association with the acquisition of *Brahman*-splendour and proper food.

In one of the *Mahanagni* verses of one of the *Kuntapa Suktas* the *bilva-* and *udumbara* trees have very highly been placed and eulogised.

mahan vaibhadro bilvo bhadra undumbarah/

maham abhikta badhate mahatah sadhu khodanam //

AVS XX.136.15

This verse is also found at RV Kh V22.10; San SS XII.24.2.8. (here used as one of the *Ahanasya* verses). These two texts read *abhujnu* for *abhikta*. This may be rendered as follows:

"Great, indeed, is the good *bilva-*, great is the good *udumbara-*, the great one presses on the knees (rendering for *abhijnu*), a good thing is the amorous sport of the great one."

Again at RV Kh II.6.6 this *bilva*-tree, the lord of trees, is said to be born out of head (*tapas-*) perhaps of that Prajapati). (*tapaso'dhi Jato vanasplatis tava vrksio'tha bilvah*).

The Ritual. The *bilva*-wood is mainly used as the sacrificial post, but to some extent its branches are used as the enclosing and kindling-sticks, and a staff is also used in this wood (for details see 3.0). In some of the Vedic rites the ingredient is prepared out of *bilva*-, and its fruit is also eaten.

At AB II.1 it is stated that one who is desirous of acquiring proper food, and general prosperity, he should employ the sacrificial post of *bilva*-wood, Thereby, he becomes the chief of his own people; he prospers in offspring and cattle. The *bilva*-symbolically represents light due to its divine origin from the light of yonder sun.

At the *Atharva-Parisista* (=Ath Pari) V.3.3, in the *pusyakabhiseka*-ceremony, i.e. the ritual of a lustration performed for a king under the *pusyas-naksatra*, the king should observe fast for seven nights. He should perform the rite subsisting either on *bilva*-(fruit), or on (any) other fruit, or on fluid alone; or he should take ghee alone for seven nights, and then he should perform *homa*. The Ath Pari XXXI.6.4 says that one wishing everything should perform oblation with the faggots of *bilva*-; thus he gains gold (Cf. Ath Pari LXX.5.6). The Ath PLari XXIII.1.4 gives description of the *caru*-vessel. "The *caru*-vessel is said to be *bilva*-shaped, it can be made either of copper or of clay, and at the neck its spout or mouth should be broad'. The main idea of employing *bilva*-shaped vessel for preparing boiled-rice seems to be the belief that this vessel will be endowed with the qualities of *bilva*-; thereby he can fulfill all his desires and can become prosperous all respect.

In some of the *ajya*-oblations this *bilva*-is used as one of the materials along with the bunch of grass, white mustard seeds, (animal) fat etc. Having collected these materials, later on

their offering should be made to the fire (see e.g. Ath Pari XXXII.1.7;5.8 etc). According to Ath Pari XXXVI.21.1, 'On the evening of the eighth day and also of the fourteenth day of the black half, he should make offerings of a *pradesa*-long *bilva*-tree, which should be with its roots and branches, thereby he shares gold'.

At Gobh GSIV.1.12. it is said that the *caru*- (boiled-rice gruel) should be taken of the size of a *bilva*-fruit. 'Having taken a portion of the mess of boiled-rice of the size of a *bilva*-fruit, he should mix that together with the *avadanas*, with the juice (which was poured into a brazen vessel : sutra 8)'.

Baudh GS II.6.12 refers to the *samavartana*- ceremony of a *Brahmacarin*; in this ceremony a branch of the *bilva*- tree is used. 'The *Brahmacarin* deposits the remnants of the cooked rice on a branch of the *bilva*-tree, which is placed in front of the fire, with the mantra : '*tasmin sahasrasakhe ni bhagaham tvayi mrje svaha*' (this mantra is- TA VII.4.3; TU I.4.3).

Visnu DS XLVI.16, mentions the *Sriphalakrcchra*- as one of the penances. 'He should eat nothing but *bel*-fruit (for a whole month), this is called the *Sriphalakrcchra*- (*bel*-fruit penance)'.

According to Baudh Ds I.5.32. after grinding the *bilva*- (fruit) and the rice-grains together, the ointment should be prepared and that should be besmeared on the skins of the black antelopes.

Needless to say, the employment of the *bilva*- tree is always associated with auspicious and purificatory rites. It never has its association with the rites concerning the deceased person. This tree imparts *Brahman*- splendour, proper food, and general prosperity to the sacrificer.

To the Vedic mind life and death stand in perpetual contrast. From the Baudh Pitṛ. (III.14) it is well-known 'that by means

of the *samskara*-after birth one conquers earth; by means of the *samskara*-after death, heaven. 'Ritual specialists are, therefore, eager to perform this *samskara*-with the utmost care, with the minutes details, and without the slightest negligence.

Medicinal Significance of the Aegle Marmelos: The *Vedas* are rich in 'Charms and amulets' for the treatment of diseases and in charms for the expulsion of the demons, the friends and the malignants. In the medicinal charms of AV the diseases are addressed as 'demoniacal beings'. The earliest documents of Indian medicine are found mostly in the metrical parts of AV. "In the *Vedas*, the songs are supplemented by amulets, medicines, philters and other devices of witchcrafts, and show a prevalence of the magic elements. This suggestive element persists throughout Hindu medicine. It forms part of its "psychosomatic" approach to the task of healing. To the primitive mind "the most primitive witchcraft looks very like medicine in an embryonic state." Theoretically diseases themselves are demons. In some cases, it is difficult to decide whether the word should be considered the name of a demon or of a disease e.g. *viskandha*- and *samskandhu*-.

The *bilva*-tree, along with the other trees and plants, namely, *apamarga*, *avaka*-, *udumbara*-, *talasa*-, *palasa*-, *varana*-, *sami*-, etc., is listed as 'auspicious (santa-) tree' (Kaus VIII.15-16). Of these 'auspicious trees', *bilva*- is a tree of supreme sanctity because of its divine origin.

Aegle Marmelos as the Healing One: Plants are to the Vedic mind the offspring and the essence of the waters, the embodiment of their curative properties. Hence, they are employed to bestow remedies (Cf. AVS VI.96; VIII.7). One full hymn of RV (X.97) is devoted to their praise. AVS VI.136.1 refers to a mechanical plant as : *devi devyam adhi jata prthivyam*..."A goddess born on the goddess earth..."

In the *Vedas* the use of the *bilva*-tree for medicinal purposes

through. 'charms and amulets' is very much limited. At San A XII.4-8 we do find the use of this tree as an amulet. The refrain, '*tramanim bailvam yo bibharti*' i.e. 'one who bears a comforting amulet of *bilva*-' is repeated several times as a formula, and it is expected to have such and such effect on the bearer.

Then with sixteen verses (20-35) of the XII chapter of San A, he should put on an amulet of *bilva*-; having left it to stand either for seven days or three or one in honey and ghee. He should tie it with the mantra '*ghrtad ulluptah*' i.e. 'snatched out of ghee.' Then with the next five verses (36-40) he should bind on a splinter of the *Ficus infectoria* (*mahavaroha*-), which he has left to stand for three nights or one in (a mess of) beans and boiled rice. If possible he should first sacrifice in the shadow of an elephant or on a tiger's skin or sitting.

This amulet of *bilva*- with the recitation of certain mantras is believed to bring much good to the performer, and it does not cause him any harm. One who bears this comforting amulet of *bilva*-, no offspring of his is harmed at birth, nothing amiss happens in his family. No misfortune comes to him; Āsuras, Raksasas, Pisacas do not injure him. He is not afraid of supernatural powers.

He overcomes his foe or foes, and becomes skilled in speech. He lives for a full span of life. The *bilva*- is said to possess thousand-fold powers. The bearer of this amulet gets multi-directional happiness and prosperity. He will not be cut off in the midst (of life) He does not get any injury or harm from fierce animals like the elephants, tigers, snakes, scorpions, etc.

Whatsoever be the material object of an amulet, which is worn or carried on the person, it is for certain that its employment is meant for 'magico-religious' reasons, e.g., to cure disease, to give strength, fortune or general protection and prosperity to the person concerned, or to defend him or her from specified

dangers or misfortunes or calamities of any sort.

It is obvious that the *bilva*-trees is of divine origin and is possessed of 'curative powers', and is an 'auspicious tree'.

Aegle Marmelos in the Dharmasutras and the Upanisads:
The *bilva*-has got another name *sriphala*- in some of the Dharmasutras and very frequently in the *Saiva Upanisads* (see e.g., Visnu DS XXIII.21; XLVI.16; Vaikhanasa DS III.4.3; *Sivopanisad* VI.3. *Naradopanisad* 9; *Bhasmajabalopanisad* 1.1; II.3 etc.). The word *sriphala*-may mean 'the fruit possessed of prosperity *sri*', 'the fruit which bestows prosperity', 'the fruit which is dear to *Sri*'. This *bel*-fruit *sriphala*- is used as one of the purificatory means. E.g., the clothes *amsu-pattas* are purified by means of this fruit (see Visnu DS XXIII.21; Vaikhanasa DS III.4.3).

The lord Siva is said to have a special liking for *bilva*-tree (especially for its leaves), and it is mainly associated with *Saiva*, and *Sakta* cults. It is thereby that no worship of the lord Siva is possible without this tree (see e.g., *Bilvopanisad* 7; 8; 16; 17; 18; *Sivopanisad* IV.59). The *bilva*-tree is nothing but the form of the lord Siva, therefore, even with a single leaf of *bilva* the lord Siva becomes very much pleased (*Bilvopanisad* 8).

The worship of the *bilva*-tree is on par, with the worship of the lord Siva himself (*Bilvopanisad* 21). its trifoliate leaf symbolizes the three functions-creation, preservation and destruction- of the lord as well as his three eyes, The same idea of trinity of the *bilva*-tree is expressed in the *Bilvoanisad* (14).

7.1. In India many folklores are associated with this tree. its wood is not used as fuel for fear of rousing the indignation of the god of destruction. In some parts of Kerala, its fruits are not eaten because they are thought to be Siva's head (see Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 95). Throughout India this tree is held in high esteem.

Agni

Agni is born first in this world (AB. 1.16). He is born and yet is immortal. He is God made for life. His life is full and commensurate with that of man who produced him. He lasts with the life of the sacrificer (AB. 1.28). This divinity has two aspects, one visible and other subtle. It is noted that the subtle form of Agni is omnipresent and permeating every thing in the universe. The Devas have capacity to visible this form. They have the subtle form, not the one expressly declared (AB. 1.5). It is this visible form, which is produced.

By his subtle form he pervades the three worlds. On the earth as waters, in the mid-air as wind and as the Sun in the Heaven, Agni prevails with his three forms. Then with his auspicious, helpful and sacrificial form he burns here for men. These are the forms of Agni.

The holy form of Agni is kindled by the gods and the men (AB 2.34). Among the men Atharvan produced him. He is a dear guest in the house. He is a sage and a friend of the sacrificer (AB 1.16). Every morning he is produced. Agni, Usas and Asvins are the gods who move in the morning. He is produced by rubbing the two fire sticks (Aranis , AB1.16). The two fire-sticks form the chariot of the gods. Agni mounts on them. The sacrificer causes Agni to mount on the chariot of the gods. This chariot goes to the heaven with the sacrificer (KB 2.6). The gods caught Agni between the heaven and earth, when he was born. Thus, the subtle and visible forms of Agni on this earth, in the midair and the heaven are divine and auspicious (AB 1.16).

The production of Agni from the fire-sticks is a rapid process. It must be executed in quick time. If there is delay in the production of Agni the Raksases seize him. The domonic forces prevail over him (AB 1.16)'.

There is a mutual interdependence between Agni and the gods. The gods are born of Agni and Agni is made manifest after

the birth by the gods by means of the heaven and earth (AB 2.3; 1.16). The entire concept of the divinity has its origin in Agni. The gods become the divine beings due to Agni only. At the same time, the gods produce Agni. This Agni is their visible form. The AB (1.16) points out that Savitr rules over all productions. Thus being produced by Savitr, they are able to give rise to Agni, Agni concealed in all created things is simply made manifest. This is how he is produced. Agni thus exhibited in all creation is this earthly Agni. He is three fold in the forms of coals, flame and smoke (KB 28.5). This is the visible and expressed form of Agni. However, Agni persists in all things in the world wherever there is life, growth, heat and lustre. This is due to the conception of Agni as the aspect of the solar energy in the Universe. This solar energy is named in the RV as Visnu, Surya, Savitr, Pusan and Mitra. Of all these aspects of the solar energy, Visnu has persisted through the Samhita and Brahmana periods of the Vedic Literature as omnipresent and the most important form of the sun. In the final analysis of the concept of the Vedic deities, Visnu is the heaven and Agni on the earth remain as the all-absorbing forms of the solar energy. Hence, we find the statement of the AB (1.1) that Visnu and Agni are all deities. This is very favourite concept of the Brahmana theologians that the ultimate source and end of all deities is Visnu (the Sun) and his manifested form in the universe is Agni only. All other deities are the different forms of Agni. They are simply the working forms of Agni.

Thus various prominent deities in the three worlds are identified with Agni. In fact they are the forms of Agni. When Agni is blazing it is his form as Vayu, when divided into two halves he bears the form of Indra and Vayu. When Agni's flames flicker up and down when burning or being extinguished, it is form of Mitra and Varuna. It is dangerous to touch Agni. This dangerous touch is his Varuna form. Men become friendly to him because he has the form of Mitra. In that he is produced from the fire-sticks with two hands, he has the form of the

Asvins. Agni burns with cracking sound imitating the sound *ba-ba-ba*, and with that all beings run away trembling, that is his Indra form. This is the conflagration or wild fire which causes panic among all beings who run away to save themselves. This is due to the form of Indra which he puts on. Agni is divided in many parts in all beings all objects in the universe, that is his form of Visvedevas. Agni blazes forth with roaring noise, uttering speech as it were, that is his Sarasvati form. Thus Agni assumes the forms of the various of the various deities such as Vayu, Indra-Vayu, Varuna, Mitra, Asvins, Indra, Visvedevas and Sarasvati. Agni appears as these deities in the various aspects such as blazing, flickering, extremely hot, produced by friction, producing cracking and loud noisy sounds. The AB (3.4) points out these forms of Agni in connection with the various deities praised in the prauga sastra and ajyastotra of the SV (2.10.2). The different deities praised in the invocatory verses are nothing by the forms of Agni. These are the important deities in the Vedic pantheon and are connected with the three worlds.

Rudra is also a form of Agni. The KB (6.1) tells us the following myths in this connection : Prajapati being desirous of propagation underwent penance. When he was heated, from him were born, Agni Vayu, Aditya, Candramas and Usas. Prajapati asked each of them to practise. They consecrated themselves. When they acquired favour Usas taking the form of an Apsaras (nymph) came out in front of them. Their minds were inclined towards her. They poured out seed. Then they went to Prajapati, their father and said, "We have poured out seed, but let it not remain there". He made a golden bowl, arrow-breadth in height and length. In this he poured the seed. From it a rose he of a thousand eyes and a thousand feet and with a thousand fitted arrows. He grasped his father Prajapati. He asked the reason of holding him. The great being replied, "Give me a name; for, without a name being assigned to me I cannot eat food here". He answered that he was Bhawa, who is the same as the waters (Apah). For

the second time he grasped his father, Prajapati. Prajapati gave him a name. He said, "You are Sarva". Agni is Sarva (KB 6.1-3). In this myth we are told by the KB that Agni is a child of Prajapati and from the seed of Agni poured in the charming Usas, Rudra was born. Prajapati acted as the father. Actually Rudra is produced from the seed of Agni (in parts) and he as Sarva is none but Agni himself. This myth is not found in AB; but the KB gives all details about the birth of Rudra, the great god. This great god Mahadeva, Rudra, who tried to grasp his father in his all-consuming form is Agni only. Rudra in this form resembles Agni, who devours all. The KB (19.4) informs us that Agni when piled on the altar at the Soma sacrifice is Rudra, the unappeased one of the gods. So Agni is produced from Prajapati and himself is the producer of Rudra who in turn is the same as Agni.

In another myth about the creation of the Universe we are told in the AB (5.32) that Prajapati out of desire to multiply produced from his penance the three worlds, viz., earth, mid-region and Dyauh. Prajapati, then brooded over these worlds. From the earth he produced Agni, the luminous one. He brooded over the bright form of Agni. From him he created, Rgveda. From the Rgveda was produced the holy sound 'bhuh'. When Prajapati brooded over this sound, then came out further pure sound 'a'. This 'a' joined with 'u' and 'm' from other sounds formed the Omkara, the pranava, which is the same as the svarga, the Aditya.

The KB (6.10) narrates similar myth. It gives more details of the creation of this world from the expiration (Prana) of Prajapati and that Agni was produced from this world.

It is thus to be noted that Agni is the god of this world, who is the source of the Rgveda and partially responsible for the formation of the Omkara, which is equated with the Aditya. The Rgveda and 'u' syllable in the Omkara come out of Agni.

Agni is connected with the wives of the gods (KB 28.3).

Thus Agni is the lowest of the gods and Visnu is the highest. Agni and Visnu are all deities. They are the terminal points of the sacrifice (AB 1.1). All gods are encompassed by them, Agni is at lower and Visnu at the upper end of the Devas (KB 7.1).

Agni Vaisvanara is the Sun, who gives heat (KB 19.2). Agni offers himself in the rising Sun and the setting Sun offers himself in Agni. Thus Agni and the Sun continue to blaze and shine throughout (KB 2.8). The whole world is his food (KB 2.1).

Agni and Indra are considered to be all gods. Here Indra seems to be the Sun (KB 16.11). Agni and Soma are the same (AB 2.37). Vayu is Agni's own greatness (KB 3.3).

Agni is called Bharata because he bears oblations to the gods (KB 3.2).

Agni and the Sun together illumine the whole world. The Sun does it during the day and Agni during the night. Agni is connected with the night (KB 2.1).

Agni is the lord of the house (AB 4.7). When a man is about to go on a journey or has gone on journey, he pays homage to Agni. Thus he confides himself in Agni and entrusts all care and protection of his household to Agni. Agni guards him on the journey and keeps his house safe during his absence from the house (KB 2.5). The prestige and dignity of a person increase when a man establishes Agni in his house. Even if he is contemptible, he becomes respectable and immediately attains prosperity when he deposits Agni in his house. Thus prosperity and honour come to him due to Agni (KB 1.1). Not only do the social honour and material prosperity come to person when he deposits Agni, but also he gets progeny. Agni fertilises the wives of the householder and deposits seed in them for propagation (AB 6.3). This functions performed by the Garhapatya Agni. The wife of the householder sits behind the Garhapatya Agni. After Agni is praised, the householder offers praise to the wives of the gods and Raka. They are not offered praise before the Garhapatya Agni, who symbolises

the wife of the householder and who places seed in the wife first. The position of Raka and the wives of the gods is inferior to that of the wife. They are like the sisters of the householder. A sister though born of the same womb as the householder is inferior to the wife (AB 3.37).

Agni is Jatavedas. He finds out what is lost. The AB (3.36) narrates a myth about the origin of this name of Agni : Prajapati created beings. They went away from him and did not return. The gods searched them with Agni. They came to him. As even today they come to him. He said to the gods, "The offsprings born of him, I have found out". He is, therefore called Jatavedas. Then all beings were surrounded and controlled by Agni. They could not bear his heat. They began to blaze forth and scorch, just like Agni. The gods sprinkled them with water with the Rgvedic hymn (10.9). Having sprinkled them with water, Agni thought that he had destroyed them. Therefore, he mysteriously placed in them the brilliance by means of the dragon of the deep, who is the Garhapatya Agni. Therefore it is said that he who offers oblations to Agni is more brilliant than one who does not.

In this myth, the origin of the name Jatavedas given to Agni is explained. Further it points out how Agni placed heat and brilliance in all beings, which makes them alive. The very life and brilliance of the beings is due to Agni. The heat in the body of the living beings, which is the sole condition that determines the existence of life in the bodies of beings in this world is placed in them by Agni only. Thus Agni is the cause of the very life and existence of all being. As he placed this life mysteriously among all beings, the life or the self of all beings is one and unified in Agni. This idea comes very near to the doctrine of the universality of the self. Further Agni is called the dragon of the deep. He is the submarine fire, the great dragon on which rests the entire world. The idea of the great dragon supporting the world is also found in the Sumerian Mythology.

46 : Agni

At another place (AB 1.16) different explanation of the world Jatavedas is attempted. Agni, who is produced by the friction of the friction of the fire sticks is called Jata and when he is placed on the *ahavaniya* hearth he is called Jatavedas, being one who is established after he is born. The newly born Agni is the beloved guest of the other Agnis.

Agni is the master of the heaven. The god defeated the demons and started for *svarga* the heaven. Agni was their leader. Agni touched the sky and entered the uppermost region with the flames. Then he closed the gates of the heaven. Agni thus is not only the lord of this world, but also of the heaven. He holds to the key of the gate of the heaven. With his favour only the gate is opened and the sacrifices are allowed to enter in it (AB 3.42).

Agni is the lord of the forest, Vanaspati (KBH 10.6).

Agni, Soma and Visnu are the deities of the three worlds. These are the forms of Agni or Visnu only.

Agni and Soma were within Vrtra. Indra was unable to hurl his bolt against them. Then with the offering of sacrifice they were given a share and was rescued (KB 15.2). It seems what Vrtra was a demon who covered everything, including Agni and Soma. In that, Agni was churned out of the firesticks and the shoots of Soma were pressed into juice, Indra acted as their rescuer from Vrtra, who seems to have covered them in the firesticks and shoots respectively.

Agni is Varuna (AB 6.26; RV 5.3.1).

Agni is the Brahman which is the entire sacrificial rite including the prayers offered in it. When Agni is brought forth, the priests strike away all evils of the sacrificer with Brahman (KB 9.1).

Agni is a *manota* of the gods. He is the weaver of the mind of men around the gods. There are three *manotas*, viz., Agni, Vac and Gauh, among the gods, The thoughts of men are plotted and woven around them (AB 2.10). We get in this myth the

psychological working of the minds of poets. Agni is poet, a *kavi*; so also there are human poets. Agni acts as their *Manota*. The thoughts of the poets are woven round Agni, with warp and woof. The thoughts are knitted together to fashion them into a piece of cloth in the form of the *kaya*. Agni acts as their inspiration to fashion a poem in his praise and of other gods. The Vedic hymns in honour of the gods are such finished and artistic products of the poets inspired by Agni. The thoughts are woven together and expressed in the form of *Vac* (speech) and *Gauh*. Agni is all these *manotas* (KB 10.6).

Agni is the best of the Angirasas (AB 6.34). Angirasas are the ancient priests of fire and Agni is identified with the most prominent of these sages.

The SV is mostly the RV only. The various Samans are the musical adaptations of the *res* of the RV only. Thus we are told that Vasistha brought forth the Rathantara Saman (RV 7.32.22) and Bharadvaja and Brhat Saman (RV 6.46.1) from Agni only. Agni is their source and inspiration to adapt this Samans from the *res* (AB 1.21).

Agni thus inspires the poets to compose or to weave together the thoughts in the form of the *res* and also to bring forth the musical adaptations of the *res* in the form of the two major Samans, Rathantar and Brhat.

Agni overcomes Mrtyu lurking at him. By overcoming Mrtyu he becomes immortal (AB 3.14).

Agni is the lord of the plants (Vanaspati and Osadhi). Cereals first ripe on the south of the vindhya mountain, due to him only.

According to Sayam, to the North of the Vindhya mountain barley and wheat are the chief crops. To its south rice is cultivated and it becomes ripe in the mouths of Kartika and Margasirsa. It is due to Agni that the crops grow

and become ripe. The cooked rice is offered to Agni in the sacrifice (AB 1.7).

Agni and Yajna

In the system of sacrifice, Agni is the most important deity. Agni is the deity to whom the offerings are made all other deities give oblations in Agni only. Thus Agni is the deity and the medium of the sacrifice. Without Agni, the sacrifice cannot proceed. Through the performance of sacrifice, the heaven is attained. Thus the sacrifice is Agni only.

The gods performed the sacrifice in Agni with Agni and went to the heaven. Adityas and Angirasas performed the sacrifice to Agni with Agni and went to the heaven. (AB 1.16). These were the earliest sacrifices. Among the gods who performed the sacrifice were also the Sadhyas. These were the metres. With the metres they formerly performed the sacrifice and went to the heaven. Thus the Metres are the deities, who bring about the sacrifice. The Metres represent all metrical compositions of the prayers such as the hymns of the RV. In the earliest sacrifices, the gods such as Adityas, the sages such as Angirasas and the Metres performed the sacrifice in Agni with Agni. The object of the sacrifice is the attainment of the heaven (AB 1.16).

Agni used in the sacrifice is the sacred Agni. He is invoked with speech bound by metres i.e. the hymns. The Hotr priest in invocation collects the speech together. With the speech he leads the sacrificer to the path of the heaven (AB 1.3). Thus the speech, the sacred hymn, bound by the metre is a deity. It is the expression of the thoughts of the Hotr priest. These thoughts are centered round the good of the sacrificer, which is the attainment of the heaven.

Propitiated by the speech of the Hotr, Agni carries the sacrificer to the heaven. Agni is the chariot of the gods. In this chariot he takes the sacrificer to the heaven, which is the

world of the good. Yajamana (the sacrificer) no longer remains a human being, but he becomes Agni himself. He becomes one with Agni. He takes final rest in his own fire. He is burnt with his sacred fire, which takes him after his death to the world of the heaven. This identification of the sacrificer with the sacred Agni is due to the propitiation of Agni by the Hotr with the recitation of the speech bound by metres (KB 5.10).

Agni, the chariot of the gods, the vehicle of the sacrificer leading to the heaven is the Yajna, the ultimate resort of the sacrificer. The sacrifice is the divinity as great as the earth. Being present in the whole earth the sacrifice already existed on the earth. The gods saw it with their eyes. The eyes of the god are Agni and Soma, who are their vital breaths, Prana and Apana. The gods with the eyes of Agni saw the omnipresent sacred Agni, the sacrifice. This Yajna was directly perceived with the eyes by the gods, as pervading the whole earth, which is Aditi. By the eyes one sees what cannot be seen ordinarily. Therefore after wandering in confusion, when a man sees with his eyes, immediately he receives the object. Thus with eyes one sees the unseen. The gods saw the sacrifice in this earth. They gathered it together. From the earth the sacrifice was extended, performed and gathered together. The earth is Aditi. Thus the gods perceived, extended and collected the sacrifice (Agni). The gods turned it into a chariot leading the human Agni (The sacrificer) to the heaven. The Yajna prevailing on the earth, was perceived by the gods with the eyes of Agni, turned the sacrificer into Agni and revealed him the final goal of his life, the heaven. Yajna is thus the all-pervading deity of the earth, a divinity making the human sacrificer a divine being and finally identifying him with it. The Yajna is Agni (AB 1.8). The heavenly world is upwards. Agni residing on the earth is on the eastern region. Agni invoked in the sacrifice (ahavaniya) is in the east. Like the gods, the demons also offered oblations in the fire; but they placed Agni to the west. This is the Asura—way of performing sacrifice (AB 1, 8; 7.5). The entire earth has

Agni concealed in it. It is to be sought with divine eyes, This sacred Agni is the human sacrifice and is the same as Visnu. He bestows oblations on the gods (KB 10.6). The gods come to the sacrifice at the call of the Hotr. Agni, Usas and Asvins are the gods who move in the morning. They come with seven metres each (AB 2.15). When the Hotr offers to Agni, he becomes delighted with his limbs and forms. The three worlds are his forms. With the offering of the oblations the three worlds forming the expression of Agni become delighted (KB.1.1).

The sacrifice is the mystic propitiation of the three worlds, the earth, mid-air and heaven. These worlds sprang up from the penance of Prajapati.

The meditation and penance of Prajapati brought forth the three worlds, three deities (Agni, Vayu and Aditya), the three Vedas, the three pure sounds and the three syllables which constitute the Omkara. This is the same as the heaven, the Aditya. Prajapati then extended the sacrifice. In this sacrifice he performed the Hotr's office with the Rgveda alone, that of Adhvaryu with the Yajurveda, and that of Udgatr with the Samaveda alone. He performed the office of the Brahma priest with the pure parts of the threefold knowledge. The gods said, "If there is any trouble in our sacrifice from the *re*, *yajus*, *saman* or if there is any unknown trouble or complete failure, what is the expiation?" Prajapati then replied, "If there is any trouble from the *Re*, you offer in the Garhapatya with Bhudh as the exclamatory sound; if there is any trouble from the *Yajus*, with the call Bhuvah in the Anvaharyapacana fire. If there is any trouble from the *Saman*, you offer with Svah sound in the Ahavaniya fire only. This is the explanation of the expiation (AB 5.32).

The (KB 6.10) gives a bit different account of this sacrifice of creation. Prajapati practised penance. From his *Prana*, *apana* and *vyana*, he fashioned the three worlds and from these, three deities of light, viz. Agni, Vayu and Aditya. From

these deities of light, then were produced three Vedas. With the *trayividyā*, he stretched forth the sacrifice. In this sacrifice, he recited with the *res* proceeded with Yajus and sang with the Samans. he developed the sap of the brilliance of the three Vedas for healing them. This cure of the threefold lore was in the form of three sounds, Bhuh, Bhuvah and Svah. The cure of the Vedas was necessary as the performance of the sacrifice was likely to be defective on account of wrong or improper ritual. The whole ritual was required to be thoroughly processed by a competent authority. This gave rise to the new office of the priest, the Brahma, who mentally followed the entire sacrifice and rectified all mistakes. This shows an advanced state of sacrificial ritual when it was felt that all offices and functions of the priests were required to be synchronised. The Brahma sat to the south of Ka (Prajapati). This sacrifice of Prajapati ended in the border of the South sloping to the North.

The sacrifice is performed by actually going through all rites. This is as it were the unfolding of the rituals. It is the stretching forth of the sacrifice. This sacrifice began with Agni on the earth and was stretched to the heaven, where Aditya (Visnu) resides, through the atmospheric region of Vayu. Thus the sacrifice is stretched from the earth to the heaven, from Agni to Visnu, who are the two terminal forms of the sacrifice (AB 1.1).

In Agni and Visnu, all deities are comprised. In the recitation of stotra or stoma, in the Soma sacrifice, even though actually Agni is not referred to it is as good as the praise of Agni. In the soma sacrifice, when the Hotr starts with the stotra to Vayu, Agni, is implied in the deities praised. The deities praised in the stotra are : Vayu, Indra and Vayu Mitra and Varuna, Varuna, Mitra, Asvins, Indra, Visvedevas, and Sarasvati. In all these deities Agni is praised, for Agni is all these deities (AB 3.4).

Agnihotra

In this sacrifice the deities are invoked separately by the Hotr, because the oblations are taken severally for them. When the Hotr, invokes Agni, through Agni, he summons that form of Agni, which bears the oblations in his sacrificial form. Agni as deity is to be treated differently from Agni, who carries oblations to the gods. His sacrificial form is the yonder sun shining with light. It is due to this sacrificial form of Agni that the sun appears to every man. It is due to Agni that the sun shines and is seen by men. When the Hotr says. "Agni, bring Agni" he means, "Agni, bring that form (The sun)". When the Hotr invites Agni for the performance of the function of Hotr, he invokes the *svistakrt* offerings. The Hotr also invokes the greatness of Agni. This is the invocation of Vayu; for Vayu is Agni's own greatness. By him Vayu attains greatness.

Thus the sacrificial form of Agni in the one which is invoked in the sacrifice by the Hotr. This is different from the deity called Agni. This sacrificial form is the very essence of Aditya and Vayu, the deities of the heaven and the atmosphere respectively. Thus the sacrifice is symbolical form of the Universe expressed through the pacification of Agni. The sacrificial form of Agni is the same as Vayu and Aditya (KB 3.3).

Thus idea of sacrifice representing the central, unified and controlling power of the Universe is explained in the KB (2.8). The KB points out that Agni offers himself in the rising sun. The yonder sun while setting offers itself in Agni in the evening. Similarly the night offers itself in the day and the day in the night. The Prana offers itself in the Apana and the Apana in the Prana. Thus Agni and Surya. Ratna and Divasa, Prana and Apana—these six sacrifice themselves in each other. By means of this mutual sacrifice the world goes on. Agni offering to the sun actually gives rise to sun. The sun in turn produces Agni at night. Thus the day and night, Divasa and Ratra offer

sacrifice in each other and produce themselves mutually. The rising and setting of the sun, the appearance of the day and night carry on the world, as the two vital breaths, Prana and Apana offering sacrifice to each other.

The offering of Prana in Apana and vice versa seems to be referred to in the Bhagavadgita (4.29) when it refers to the various sacrifices performed by the creator.

The wheel of the world rotates on account of the mutual sacrifices of these six. The knowledge of this sacrifice for the continuity of the world-order is equal to the performance of the sacrifice, even if actually the sacrifice is not offered. If one sacrifices with the knowledge of this he offers it twice as it were.

This is the offering to Agni, when the Agnihotra sacrifice is offered to Agni, Surya, Divasa, Ratra, Prana and Apana, Even if he offers Agnihotra with a very small portion, the gods accept his twofold offerings. By this sacrifice, the world-order is carried on. The gods are pleased with his offerings and they grant him all desires.

The performance of the Agnihotra with this knowledge makes the sacrificer immortal. From the time of the performance of the sacrifice he becomes immortal, when the gods eat his offerings. He is possessed of the truth and the immortality. The truth is the knowledge of the maintenance of the world-order due to the sacrifice to Agni; and the attainment of the immortality by the sacrificer is the ultimate aim of man's life. Thus *satya* and *amrtatva* are the attainments of the performance of the Agnihotra. The offering of a man, who offers the Agnihotra is like the offering of a man, who has faith in his deity, who speaks the truth and who is full of fervour (KB 2.8). Thus a sacrificer must have *satya*, *tapas*, *sraddha*, Then he attains the *amrtatva*.

The sacrificer is possessed of the truth when he recites the prayer. In the Agnihotra, the prayer is, "Agni is light and light

is Agni, hail". He calls Agni the light. Thereby he speaks the truth. His self is composed of the speech; he speaks the truth. The realisation of the existence of Agni in the whole universe wherever there is light is expressed by the Hotr or sacrificer in the prayer. The speech or prayer is the expression of his self. The speech being expressive of the truth, his self is composed of the truth. Thus the self and speech of the sacrifices are made up of the truth only. The Atman is the truth. The gods are composed of the truth. When he offers oblation with the call, 'Svaha' the gods accept his offering of the truth (the self). His self, (the truth) is offered to the gods. Such is a very noble concept of the sacrifice of Agnihotra, offered every day twice in the morning and evening, It is the offering of the truth, which is the self of the sacrifice to the gods. Early in the morning before the close of the night, he speaks the truth. Once he realises this truth, even if he utters false speech, still the truth is uttered; because the other speech is profane. In the morning he offers oblations with the prayer, "The sun is the light; the light is the sun, hail". He utters the speech composed of the truth and thereby his self becomes composed of the truth (KB 2.8).

The essence of the Agnihotra is the realisation of the self as the truth expressed in the prayer, "Surya and Agni" are the light, and the light consists of Surya and Agni;. When is it to be offered? The seers of the sacrifice had alternatives; they could offer the morning oblation at the close of the night before the sun rises or after the sun had arisen. When it is offered when the sun has arisen, the offering is the hospitality to the great one, who has gone on the journey. He, who offers when the sun has not arisen, his offering is to the great god when close at hand. However, the prudent opinion is that the offering should be made when the sun has not arisen. On the point the seer, Vrsasusma Vatavata, one of the men of old when lying worn out declared when he saw that both the offerings of Agnihotra were given at night only, one at the beginning of the night and the other at the end of the night,

“It is at night that they offer. Having gone to the yonder world, to the father, we shall proclaim and they will believe in us that the Agnihotra which used to be performed on successive days is now performed on one day out of the two and at night only”.

This argument is based on a belief that the offering of the Agnihotra is given as a welcome to the great god, the sun on his journey, and that after the death the sacrificers reach the world of the father which is the same as the heaven (KB 2.9).

In the Agnihotra sacrifice the Ahavaniya fire is taken out. This fire is the sacrifice and the heaven. This sacrifice is connected with the Visvedevas of sixteen parts finding support in the cattle. Milk is offered in the fire. Sixteen deities at the various stages of the offering claim the offering. When it is in cow it is of Rudra, when allowed to drop, it belongs to Vayu, when being milked it is Asvins, when milked it is of Soma, when it is put on fire, it belongs to Varuna, when it swells up it is claimed by Pusan, when it is pouring on it is meant for the Maruts, when it is bubbling its deity is the Visvedevas, when it is covered with a film, it finds support in Mitra, when it is removed it remains in the heaven and earth, when it is ready for the Hotr it is owned by Savitr, when it is being taken out it is the property of Visnu, when it is put on the altar it is handed over to Brhaspati; its first libation is for Agni, the second is for Prajapati and the offering itself as a whole is Indra. Thus, Rudra, Asvins, Soma, Varuna, Pusan, Maruts, Visvedevas, Mitra, Dyavaparthivi, Savitr, Visnu, Brhaspati, Agni, Prajapati and Indra are the sixteen deities who share the milk offering at its various stages in the process of preparing and offering in Agni (AB 5.26). This offering in Agni is the sacrifice and the heaven itself, and the offering itself belongs to the major sixteen deities.

Agni-pranayana

There are two Agnis in the Soma sacrifice. One is carried to the Uttarvedi and other is taken to the Agnidhara's place.

These fires have power to injure the sacrificer when they fight for securing oblations (AB 1.30). When Soma is carried to the Uttaravedi, the Asuras and Raksases tried to kill the kind Soma, between the place called the Sadas and the two Havidhanas. Agni saw Soma by assuming illusionary form (*maya*). He walked before Soma, because he has magical qualities to guard the Soma by mysterious ways (AB 1.30). Agni, carried to the Uttaravedi, is praised in Gayatri metre if the sacrificer is a Brahmana, in Tristubh metre if he is a Ksatriya, in Jagati metre if he is a Vaisya. Agni is deposited in a hole in the Uttaravedi, which is like a nest of a bird. It is stuffed with sticks of fire wood, odoriferous gum (*guggulu*), *urnastuka* and *sugandhi tejana* (AB 1.28).

Agni is led forward to retain Soma in this world. Soma was among the Gandharvas. The gods and seers meditated on him, "How shall Soma the king come here to us?" Vac said, "The Gandharvas love women. With me as a woman you barter Soma". The gods declined; for, they thought that they could not do without her. She said, "Still you buy, I shall return when you will require". With her as a great naked woman (*mahanajni*) they bought Soma. In imitation of this the sacrificers bring up a young immaculate cow to buy Soma. He may repurchase her, for Vac went back to the gods. Therefore one should speak inaudibly when Soma is bought; for still she is among the Gandharvas. When Agni is brought forward Vac returns to the gods (AB 1.27).

Bringing forward Agni is a rite in a Soma sacrifice. By the performance of the rite the gods reached the heaven; but they could not see the quarters. Then Aditi said, "Offer me ghee (Ghrta). I shall see on one quarter." She saw the top direction. Aditi is this earth. Therefore on the earth the plants and trees grow upright. Men grow upright. Agni is enkindled upright. Whatever there is on this earth stretches forth upright (KB 7.6). In the same way Agni asked the gods to offer him ghee to see the quarters. They offered ghee to him. He saw the

east. Therefore Agni is led forward to the east. The sacrifice is extended eastward. Sitting eastward they offer the sacrifice. Thus this rite of Prayaniya enabled the gods to reach to the heaven; but on reaching there they could see the east and top directions only when they offered ghee to Agni and Aditi respectively. We get here the key to the success of the cult of sacrifice that it is extended to the East. The Aryan religion of sacrifice spread towards the east from the Indus Valley to the Indo-gangetic plain and to the further East. Eastward is the march of Agni, of sacrifice and the spread of the Aryan religion (KB 7.6).

Agni is carried in front of the victim (pasu). As it was borne along for being offered in the sacrifice the victim saw death (Mrtyu) and was not willing to go to the gods. They said, "Come, we shall make you go to Svarga." The victim agreed; but said, "Let one of you go before me." They took Agni in the forefront and followed him. After him the victim went to the heaven. Therefore, they say that every animal is connected with Agni. They bear him before them (AB 2.6).

In the Prayaniya rite offerings are made to five deities : Pathya, Agni, Soma, Savitr and Aditi. In this connection the AB (1.7) narrates a myth : The sacrifice once went away from the gods. They could not do anything. They could not see it. They said to Aditi, "Through you let us discern it". She said, "Let it be so; but let me choose a boon". She asked for this boon. "Let the Yajna begin and end with me". : The boon was granted. Therefore, there is an offering made to Aditi in the beginning of the sacrifice (Prayaniya) and at the end. She then said, "Through me you will know the East, through Agni the South, through Soma the West, and through Savitr the North". The Hotr to propitiate the five deities recite the five offering verses called Yajyas. He recites to Pathya. Therefore the yonder sun arises in the East and sets in the West; for it follows Pathya. He recites to Agni. Therefore in the South the plants become ripe first; they are connected with Agni.

He recites to Soma. Therefore many rivers flow to the South. The waters are connected with Soma. He recites to Savitr. Therefore he who blows on the North-West blows most. He recites to Aditi at the end. Therefore, the yonder sky wets the earth with rain and snuffs it up. The sacrifice is five fold. The Hotr offers to these five deities in order. Thus the sacrifice, all regions and people follow the order.

In this myth explaining the rites of Prayaniya we are given the origin of the introductory sacrifice with five fold offerings and the recitation of the *res* in honour of the Ideities, which form the essential beginning of the sacrifice. We get in this myth some very vital principal of the sacrifice. The daily course of the sun is regulated and guided by the offering to Pathya. All plant life is connected with Agni and in the South the plant ripe first. The rivers flow to the South. Due to the offering to Aditi there is the rain which fertilizes the earth and there is the abundance of the crops. Thus the plants, crops, waters, the sun and all movement and growth are regulated by the sacrifice. The growth and movement are symbols of the presence of life. It is all due to the sacrifice. The sacrifice is the sum-total of the various rites extended from the commencement to the end. Thus the rite at the very beginning signifies the motive power behind the whole phenomenon of the world. It is the sacrifice. it is Agni. In fact, the KB (9.1) points out that Agni (the sacrifice) is the Brahman.

Agnishtoma Sacrifice

It is the praise of Agni. With four stomas the gods praised him. This is a sacrificial rite without a beginning and an end. It is like a chariot with endless wheels. The Hotr praises him with a verse describing the movement of Sakala like the creeping of the snake (AB 3.43). Agnistoma is Aditya, who gives heata here (AB 3.44). Thus Agnistoma is the praise of the Aditya through his counterpart on the earth i.e. Agni. It

wins the battle against the Asuras. The gods and the demons are once engaged in a fight. Agni was invited by the gods to participate in their fight against the demons. He was unwilling to go on the battlefield. The gods praised him; that is Agnistoma. Then he was willing to join the battle. He made three rows (*sreni*) of metres and attackied the three battle lines (*anika*). These are the three pressings of Soma (*savana*). The metreis Gayatri (AB 3.36).

In another myth we are told about the glorification of the Agnistoma. The gods took refuge in Agnistoma and the demons in the Ukthya. They were equal in strength and could not be discriminated. The Bharadvajas among the seers saw, "These Asuras are resting in the Ukthya and none among the gods can see them". He invoked Agni with the RV 6.16.16, "Come, I shall proclaim to you oh Agni, the other worlds". The other worlds were then of the Asuras. Agni rose up and said, "What does this tall, lean, gay-haired one desire to tell to me?" Bharadvaja was a tall, lean and gray-haired sage. He told Agni how the Asuras were resting in the Ukthya. Agni became horse and rushed against them. This is the origin of the Sakamasva Saman (AB 3.49). This act of Agni becomes this Saman (SV 255.5).

Thus Agnistoma contains the Sakamasa Saman, which refers to the fight of Agni against the Asuras. The Asuras also performed sacrifice and the gods could not notice it. Agni exposed the Asuras.

The Agnistoma refers to the great and valiant act of Agni in his fight against the demons and winning the heat and light of the sun (AB 3.49). The Bharadvajas were responsible for this rite, as they killed Agni, praised him with the Gayatri metre and the Sakamasva Saman. Agni becoming a horse and fighting against the columns and arrays of the Asuras is suggestive of the rise of Visnu. Aditya in the form of the horse the Hayagriya. This development is significant, since Agni is the symbol of the sun, the Aditya. The horse is of

white colour, since white is the symbol of Agni (KB 10.3).

Thus the following ideas are noteworthy in connection with Agnistoma:— (i) The sacrifice is a chariot with the endless wheels leading to the heaven. (ii) The sacrifice was also performed by the Asuras. (iii) Agni becoming a horse dashed against and completely routed them. (iv) Agni's appearance as a horse is a stage preliminary to the idea of Visnu's appearance as a horse in the *Mahabharata* (v) Bharadvaja, the tall, lean and gray-haired seer could directly contact and speak to Agni

Agnyadhana

The sacrificial fire is not the ordinary fire. It has to be duly deposited one year before the actual commencement of the sacrifice. The year has twelve months, therefore twelve cows are given as offering. The maintenance of Agni throughout the twelve months accomplishes the year. The house is offered as the thirteenth offering to make the thirteenth month. The main idea in the offering of the sacrifice is to symbolise it as a year along with it intercalary thirteenth month. Movement of the sun is completed in a year. The seasons are repeated year after year. Thus the year is the symbol of the world order of the productivity and continuity (KB 1.1).

The deposition of Agni is a ritual. He is deposited with the recitation of hymns of the Gayatri metre. The hymns are uttered inaudibly. The establishment of Agni is like the pouring of seed in the womb of the woman. Inaudibly the seed is poured. The verses of the hymn are perfect in form. What is appropriate in the sacrifice is perfect. They bring about the perfection of the sacrifice (KB 1.1).

In the deposition of Agni, for the second time the offerings are made in Agni. The first offering of ghee is connected with the killing of Vitra. It seems for the destruction of the evil forces wrecking the sacrifice (KB 1.4).

Agriculture

Agriculture, the chief profession, nay the primary industry of Indian people right from the time of the Rgveda, is predominantly a way of life inextricably interwoven with the socio-economic conditions of the community. Prthu alias Prthi Vainya, an early Rgvedic king, who according to the Satapatha Brahmanas is the first of consecrated kings, is the inventor of agriculture in India with the dawn of Rgvedic civilisation. He takes the initiative of turning the virgin lands cultivable, and makes the plot of cultivation plain by removing uneven tracts. He is also the first, the Bhagavata Mahapurana attests, to introduce both village and urban life. Until Prthu's coronation, the above scripture maintains, there was no conception whatever of urban or rural life, agriculture or live stock farming. It is he who also employs the people in general in various professions including dairy farming and agriculture.

The RK Samhita highly eulogises cultivation and agriculture. Kavasa, the son of Ilusa, has been extremely addicted to gambling. He loses his wealth along with pride and honour in gambling. His wife is dragged in public by the co-gamblers. His relatives, brothers and even parents no longer look upon him affectionately. Having realised this lamentable position in both society and family as well, he devotes himself to praying and ultimately wins the favour of the Sun-god. Thereafter, he gives up gambling himself and advises his fellow gamblers to eschew the same. He says: Oh my fellow gamblers! don't play the dice and devote yourself to agriculture instead. You earn more wealth wedded with honour through agriculture itself. Oh gamblers, both livestock and beloved wife are in agriculture indeed; Lord Savitr has kindly revealed this truth unto me.

What does the word Krsi or cultivation mean? The word Krsi is derived from the root Krsi meaning to till by the plough. Nevertheless, its meaning is not confined to tilling or ploughing alone. It includes, indeed, all the senses like tilling or ploughing,

sowing, reaping, the threshing etc. This is why Patanjali maintains that the connotation of the word cultivation embraces many actions.

Cultivation, as revealed in the Aitareya Brahmana, plays a predominant role in the social life of the Vedic people. It is the back-bone of Vedic economy. The economic condition and richness as well are primarily determined by the quantity of food-production.

He who owns more food commands more respect in the society. He who produces more food, enjoys an elevated status in the society and becomes the leader or spokesman of the fellow agriculturists. This is the reason why the agriculturists congratulate the harvesting season from the core of their heart. They sing merrily if it rains timely or has there been abundance in production.

Rice (Dhanya) or *Oryza sativa* is the staple food in both early and later periods. Its common variety is also called Vrihi, while the larger one is differentiated as Mahavrihi. Barely or *Hordeum spontaneum* (Yava) is also well known. These are the two principal food grains of early Vedic period. Wheat or *Triticum aestivum* (Godhuma) cannot be traced until the Samhita and Brahmana texts of the white yajus school. Panic seed or *Panicum italicum* (Priyangu), *Phaseolus radiatus* (Massa), *Sesamum indicum* (Tila), Green Gram or *Phaseolus aureus* (Mudga) *Lens culinaris* (Masura), *Panicum miliaceum* (Anu) are the grains cultivated in the later Vedic period. Mustard seed or *Brassica campestris* (Sarsapa) is of still later origin. Vrihi and Mahavrihi ripen in the rainy season, while sali variety of *Oryza sativa* ripens in winter. Sastika, another variety of the aforesaid food grain, requires normally sixty days to ripen. Wild rice or Nivara grows without cultivation and ripens in the rainy season.

Odana or Udaudana i.e. boiled rice along with different livestock products and different preparations of various grains

is the principal item of Vedic dish. Ksiraudana or milk-mess i.e. rice fried with ghee and then cooked with milk is a delicious item even in the early vedic period. Mamsaudana or meatmess is prepared with meat and rice cooked together along with ghee. Ghee-mess or Ghrtaudana, curd-mess or dadhyaudana, sesame-mess or tilaudana, Karambha, denoting a kind of porridge made of barley, parivapa denoting fried grains of rice, spupa denoting a kind of cake of rice or barley specially prepared with ghee are included in the Vedic meal. Milk, curd, whey, butter, cream, ghee, and substances of milk called amiksa (now-a-days called chana) are important live-stock products included in daily diet.

Later Vedic agricultural farmers seem to be fully conversant with the use of organic manures for increasing productivity. Manure is said to be medicine for the plants, nay their establishment itself. The Aitareya Brahmana and the Atharva Samhita lay emphasis on the extensive use of organic manure. Cowdung or Uvadhya is widely used as Manure. Karisa or dried cowdung and sanitary refuse are also used for the purpose.

The cultivators not only know the use of manure in agriculture, but also seem to possess a fair knowledge of manufacturing it. Cowdung is kept in a pit specially dug for the purpose for a long period until decomposes and transforms into manures. The pit is called Uvadhya-goha or a manure manufacturing pit where cowdung is kept for processing manure.

Livestock farming seems to be a supplementary industry of the later Vedic people directly connected with agriculture. Bullocks are indispensable for drawing the plough, and the cows are the source of different livestock products for the daily meal. The indispensability of cowdung in processing organic manure in order to increase productivity of agriculture cannot be ignored. This consideration leads the agriculturists to possess unadulterated respect towards both the cow and oxen. Livestock farming, therefore, does not stand on the way of

agriculture, rather goes hand in hand with it.

Agriculture being the largest industry in both early and later Vedic India is the primary source of livelihood for over ninety percent of the people. It is the backbone of Vedic economy. Yet, it must be admitted that a large number of workers are compelled to take resort to it only as the ancient Indian society extremely lags behind in respect of industrialisation. It would not be out of point to note that even in the late seventies of this twentieth century more than seventy per cent of workers are engaged in agriculture in all underdeveloped countries of the Globe including India.

Productivity of agriculture, modern economists hold, depends on technological and institutional factors. Technological factors for enhancing productivity include the use of improved ploughs, tractors, harvestors, improved seeds, organic and inorganic manures and fertilizers, irrigation etc. The Vedic society, however, seems to be helpless in this respect. Tractors, harvestors or inorganic fertilizers are beyond imagination. Indigenous plough called langala which is lance-pointed, well-lying and smooth-handled, or sira denoting an improved plough, generally drawn by one or two bullocks, are the sole tools for ploughing in the early period. Larger and heavier plough called Sira is, however, much more developed in the later Vedic period. It is required to be drawn by six, eight, twelve or even twenty-four oxen. The idea of irrigation is there. Khaitra denoting a shovel or spade for digging purpose and Khantirima denoting water produced by digging refer doubtless to artificial channels used for the purposed exemption. Even so, the Vedic agriculturists are to depend primarily on nature. It cannot, of course, be denied that agricultural production depends to a great extent, even in modern times, on the whims of nature. Nature, indeed, does not yield to the planner's dictum. The fluctuations in climatic conditions, even in the scientifically and technologically developed countries like U.S.S.R., produce unpredictable variations in harvests.

Distribution of land ownership in favour of the agriculturists, improvement of the size of agricultural farms, removal of insecurity of tenancy rights etc. are the institutional factors in favour of increasing productivity. The Vedic society is completely free from such insecurity of tenancy rights etc. The king i.e. the administrator is the sole owner of every inch of land. The royal authority allots and distributes cultivable land in favour of cultivators alone. The cultivators continue enjoying for the whole life with a nominal tax paid to the royal exchequer. Decendants of cultivators also inherit the same provided they do not change their occupation and stick to agricultural industry firmly.

Aitareya Brahmana

The Aitareya Brahmana, attached to the Rigveda, which is evidently the last of the Brahmanas composed in the Brahmana period. The Gopatha Brahmana attached to the Atharvaveda is, there is no doubt, the latest Brahmana extant. But the Atharvaveda itself was compiled after the Satapatha and even the Taittiriya; and hence its Brahmana, called Gopatha, falls outside the Brahmana period, as will be shown in detail later on. The Aitareya Brahmana is, therefore, the latest Brahmana of the Brahmana period and, being very detailed, deserves our close attention. It has been carefully studied by European and Indian scholars beginning with Dr. Haug (who has translated it into English) and M.M. Kunte, whose work "The Vicissitudes of Arjan Civilisation" is well-known; and we will draw upon their views very often in placing the following account of this Brahmana before the reader.

The author of this great Brahmana is Mahidasa Aitareya, a name mentioned in the Chhandogya Upanished. Its date, therefore, must be earlier than that of the latter. The strange legend about Aitareya, given by Dr. Haug from Sayana is a name-legend and has no historical value. It states that he was born of Itara and being not sufficiently clever was disliked by

his father. His mother Itara prayed to mother-earth (Mahi) and by her blessing, Mahidasa became a learned man and a Brahmana writer. It may be added that Itara is supposed to be a Sudra woman and that her son was named Mahidasa for that reason. This story is clearly based on the name Itara, Mahi and Dasa and may be set aside as unhistorical. Sudasa, the Rigvedic king may as well be treated as a Sudra on such theories; indeed he has been so treated by some.

The extant Aitareya Brahmana consists of forty chapters which are put into eight pentads of five chapters and hence called Panchiksas. These forty chapters are again divided into Kandikas the number of which is not fixed : and ranges from 6 to 12. The first pentad has thus 30 Kandikas, the second 41, the third 50, the fourth 32, the fifth 34, the sixth 36, the seventh 34 and the eighth 28 : in all there are thus 285 Kandikas. The sentences in each Kandika are not counted as in the Taittinya Brahmana. If they be taken to be about 20 in each Kandika, we have about 5000 sentences in this Brahmana.

“The style of the Brahmana is on the whole uniform, certain phrases constantly reoccurring. The language is more recent than that of the Samhita; but it is not yet classical Sanskrit. Purely Vedic forms occur such as the infinitive in *tos* e.g. *kartos*, gennerally dependent on Isvara, (Isvarah Kartoh). The bulk of the book appears to have proceeded from a single author through some additions may have been made afterwards of stray Kandikas. These could be added without distrubance as the number of Kandikas in a chapter is not fixed” (p.69. Haug, Intro.). It is probable that a still more amplified work of the the name Mahitareya existed for some time, being mentioned in the Asvalayana-Tarpana-Vidhi. But it has now desappeared and this Brahmana iwth a few additions has remained, unlike the Mahabharata which has survived though the Bharata also, mentioned by Asvalayana, has disappeared. The 13th and 14th Kandikas are thus identical with the 18th and the 19th, as pointed out by Haug : “VII 10 and 11 are

looked upon as interpolations having a different language. "But it is not necessary to look upon VII 11 as an interpolation from some old astronomical word, because it gives many astronomical details or because it mentions two other Brahmanas. Astronomy was long studied and divergence of opinions among Acharyas was always noticed with respect.

The Aitareya, being attached to the Rigveda naturally principally treats of the duties of the seven Hotri priests (who do their work by the help of Rigveda Mantra) at the great Soma sacrifices and the royal inauguration ceremony. It naturally does not treat of all the sacrifices, which properly are the province of the Yajurveda, nor of the duties of the Adhvaryu or the Udgatri. These it takes for granted as known to the reader. "All minor Ishtis and sacrifices are excluded, though the Hotri priests have to officiate at these, as their duties in connection with these are insignificant. The first two books (Panchikas) and the first three chapters of the third treat of the duties of the chief Hotri at the Agnishtoma Soma-sacrifices which last for one day, and all other sacrifices are its modifications. These duties are mentioned in the exact order in which they are required." It is not possible to go into the details of these duties. "The fifth chapter of the second and the first three chapter of the third book are taken up with the explanations of the Sastras (praise-hymns) of the Hotri at the morning, mid-day and evening libations, the morning breakfast and afternoon teas, so to speak, of modern days). In the last chapter of Book III and the first two of the fourth, the principal modifications of the Agnishtoma are mentioned and described viz. Ukthya, Shodasi and Atiratra. Then follow Sattras and sacrificial sessions lasting a whole year and the duties of the Hotris in these are laid down in the third chapter of the fourth book. The last two chapters of the fourth and the first four chapters of the fifth describe minutely the duties of the Hotris at the Dvadasaha" 21 or January 1st falls about Maragashirsha Amavasya, it follows that the seasons have, since the days of the Kaushitaki, slid back by two months.

This is the same conclusion as that afforded by the first Ashadha statement about the rains. As this is an actual observation of the time, it cannot be said that it is taken from some old source. The coming in of crops in Northern India now is about the Amasasya of Magha, when also the days are longer and there is not much cold. The time for the ripening of crops varies in different provinces and is late in the Panjab and this statement probabaly belongs to the middle country.

There is one doubtful point here which has to be noted, viz. that the passage speaks of getting the usn thrice, once at starking, again after it has moved north-wards for six months and a third time when it has moved southwards for six months. For the second day the word used is which ordinarily means the day when the sun is in vernal or autumnal equinox, the summer-solstice day may also be taken to be indicated here, it is certain that in the times of the Brahmanas, Uttarayana had changed its meaning. Previously it meant the time from the vernal equinox to autumnal when the sun war in the northern hemisphere; but as from summer solstice to autumnal equinox, its motion is actually southwards, uttarayana was taken from winter solstice to summer solstice. It is nearly certain that वैषुवतीयेन means here the summer solstice; for, if we take it to means the vernal of autumnal equinox falling on Sravana Amavasya, six months after Magha Amavasya, the date of such a phenomenon would be unimaginably ancient.

Composition: The whole of the present text of the *Aitareya Brahmana* is recognised by tradition as handed down to us by Sayana as the work of one man, to whom alone the tradition ascribes the composition of the *Aitareya Aranyaka*. This legendary author is Mahidasa Aitareya, who like another seer recorded in both Brahmanas, Kavasa Ailusa, is stated to have been disregarded, in this case by his father who preferred sons of other wives to the son given him by Itara. The devotion of that lady to the goddess earth secured her son's elevation

to due honour. The story is, of course, worthless, but the name of Mahidasa Aitareya is preserved for us in the *Aitareya Aranyaka* (ii 1. 7; 3.8), the *Chandogya Upanisad* (III 16.7), and the *Jaiminiya Upanisad Brahmana*. There is no reason to doubt that to him may be ascribed the reduction of the present *Brahmana*, but there is no conclusive reason to make us accept the tradition to that effect; and it is open to the obvious objection that it cannot be treated as perfectly accurate, since the *Aranyaka* which cites him is a very composite work, and it is most improbable that the editor of it would cite himself as is done twice in the second book. Still it is not improbable that if the *Brahmana* were redacted by him, he would have ascribed to him the *Aranyaka* also.

What is really important is that, whoever the redactor was, the work is not of one hand or time. The contents and comparison with the *Kausitaki Brahmana* show clearly that the Soma sacrifice is the real theme of the text, and anything that does not concern that sacrifice and has no parallel in the *Kausitaki* is certainly suspect. This at once leads us to regard as later such parts as Pancikas vii and vii, which deal in the main with the anointing of the king at the royal consecration and the drink ascribed to him in place of the Soma, reserved for the priests. The chapters which deal with the rite commence with the legend of Cunahcepa (vii. 13-18), which is appropriate because it is recited to the king after his anointing, then it is elaborately proved (vii. 19-26) that the royal power is dependent on the priestly power and that the king must not drink the Soma, and finally (vii. 27-34) the proper drink for his use is explained by means of a legend emphasizing the dependence of kings on the priesthood. Then come, after a description of the Stotras and Castas of the Soma day (vii. 1-4), a description of the anointing of the king (viii. 5-11), a description of the great anointing of Indra (viii. 12-14), and of its application of kings (vii. 15-23), ending with an exaltation of the office of Purohita (viii. 24-28). The whole passage is full of a spirit of Brahmanical self-assertion, which is at any

rate not prominent in the rest of the *Aitareya*, and it is also marked by the important part played by Janamejaya, who is mentioned in vii. 27,34; viii, 11, 21, and whose pre-eminence in the eyes of the composer is perfectly obvious. The account of the consecration, it should be noted, has really nothing parallel in the other texts dealing with the subject, but the ascription of the great consecration of Indra to certain kings is parallel to the description in the *Catapatha Brahmana* of the Acvamedha as performed by these kings. The whole rite stands in no real relation to the Brahmana as a whole.

In the *Cankhayana Crauta Sutra* there is a parallel version of the story of Cunahcepa, which is introduced without any connexion whatever with the context and which diverges merely in a few words from the version of the *Aitareya*. It is not altogether easy to see how the passage came to be received in that text without even the slight modification necessary make it fit in, but the fact of its presence is probably simply due to the desire of the Cankhayana school to have within its text-books so splendid a narrative, and the slight changes are no doubt merely due to the natural alteration in form of a story when transferred from one school to another. It is clearly the case that the changes are not signs of earlier, but of later date. Thus the Cankhayana version adds a seventh year to Rohita's wanderings and a new verse (xv. 19); in another passage (xv. 24) it has tried to improve the simple *asamdheyam iti Vicvamitra upapapada* into *asamdheyam iti va avacad iti Vicvamitra upapapada*, while it has completely altered the sense of the last of the Gathas (xv. 27). It has indeed been ingeniously argued that the occurrence twice of *amantrayam* as a periphrastic perfect is a sign of an incorrect and modern version, since the *Cankhayana* has *cakre*, but the whole force of the argument disappears when it is borne in mind that the *Cankhayana* has *iksam asa* in place of *iksam cakre*. It is therefore necessary either to assert, as Liebich, had he observed the forms *iksam cakre* and *iksam asa*, presumably would have done, that both forms

were incorrectly handed down, or as is much more probable that the use of *asa* was a careless innovation which was creeping into use. The text is in other respects marked by bad forms like *samnahukah* (for *samnahukah*) in vii. 14; *acamyaparitah* vii. 15; *niniyoja* (CCS. has *niyuyoja*), and *nihcana* in vii. 16.

With the last section (viii. 24-28) the *Brahmana* passes to a quasiphilosophical doctrine of the resolution of the deities, lightning, rain, moon, sun, fire, in Brahman, here conceived (vii. 28) as Vayu, but the doctrine is degraded to a mere practical device for enabling the Purohita to overcome the king's enemies. This combination is doubtless a sign of comparatively recent origin.

Aitharva-Veda Brahmana

Gopatha-Brahmana, or the Brahmana's Brahmana, but feebly represents the Brahmana stage of Sanskrit literature. The contents are a medley, derived from various sources. Prof. Whitney finds its essential feature in the multitude of incantations which it contains, pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited, or, more often, by the sorcerer for him, and directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends; such as wealth, health, power, downfall of an enemy, success in love or play, "the removal of petty pests, and so on down to the growth of hair on a bald pate." (*Loc. Cit.* iiiip.308). A talisman, such as a necklace, or some wonder-working plant, may be given as the external means. The first half of this Brahmana is essentially of the speculative cosmogonic import, and is particularly rich in legends, a good few of which appears in the Satapatha Brahma. The first chapter traces the origin of the universe from Brahma; from the fourth section of which it would appear the Atharvan is considered as a Prajapati or king, appointed by Brahma to create and protect subordinate beings; while chap. v. contains remarks indentifying *Purusha* with the year., and allusions to

the calendar. The second half contains an exposition of various points connected with the *Srauta* ritual, apparently taken from the Aitareya Brahmana "The Veda," says *Madhusudana*, "is divided into Rik, Yajush and Saman for the purpose of carrying out the sacrifice, under its three different forms. The duties of the Hotri priests are performed with the Rig-Veda, those of the Adhvaryu priests with the Yajur Veda, those of the Udgatri priests with the Sama Veda. The duties of the Brahman (priests) and the sacrifices are contained in all three. The Atharva-Veda, on the contrary is totally different.

It is not used for the sacrifice, but only teaches how to appease, to bless, to curse, etc." Elsewhere, with reference evidently to the sacrifice, the Yajur Veda is called the head, the Rik the right, the Saman the left, the Adesa Upanishad the vital breath, and the Atharvangiras, the tail. Still the Gopatha Brahmana, is a real Brahmana are very scarce. An edition of it was published in the Bibliotheca in 1872. It makes no reference to the Brahmana-Veda, but the songs of the Atharvangiras are mentioned under the names of Atharvana-Veda and Angirasa-Veda. "A large portion of the Gopatha-Brahmana is taken up with what is called the Virishta, the Una, Yalayama, or whatever else the defects in a sacrifice are called, which must be made good by certain hymns, verses, formulas, or exclamations. There are long discussions on the proper way of pronouncing these salutary formulas, on their hidden meaning, and their miraculous power.

The syllable Om, the so-called Vyahritis, and other strange sounds are recommended for various purposes, and works such as the Sarpa-Veda, Pscha-Veda, Asura-Veda, Itihasa-Veda, Purana-Veda, are referred to as authorities (i. 10.)" M.M's *His.* p. 451. The other Brahmanas deal largely with accidents, defects, &c. and the penances by which their effect are nullified. The treatment of such will be found, for example, in the penultimate book of the Aitareya-Brahmana. The one thing which struck Max Muller as peculiar to the Gopatha

Brahmana was its account of the creation, which we give below under the head—“*Creation.*”

Its points of agreement and disagreement are sometimes rather amusing, as for example in the story of Vasishta receiving a special revelation from Indra, common to both the brahmana of the Black Yajus and the Gopatha. Both relate that because of this special revelation Vashihtas had always acted as Purohita; but when the former tells how on this account he had further been appointed Brahman or superintending priest or President; the Atharvans says that the office by right belongs to a Bhrigu or in other words to their representative. It reminds one of the somewhat similar contention between the Judgites and the Besantites in the assemblies of the Theosophists over a so-called revelation from the Psuedo-Mahatmas.

Amhas, Concept of

In attempting to discover the exact meaning of the terms composing the ancient Indian vocabulary of social life, religion, and ‘Weltanschauung’, we encounter some serious methodological difficulties. How are we to know exactly which ideas were connected by the poets of the Rgveda themselves with a great number of words bearing upon their spiritual, social, and intellectual life : Also, as the meaning of words is subject to fluctuation, how are we to know if that same sense was attached to those terms by the ensuing generations? Although nowadays nobody will stand by the ancient Indian commentators through thick and thin, who is able to say exactly how far he may follow them? That the etymological method is apt to over-estimate the value of cognate words which often were current among men of different beliefs, different traditions, and a different mental attitude, and to introduce foreign elements into ancient Indian thought, has not rarely been overlooked. It is matter of regret that in discussing the meanings of Vedic words, etymologies- which,

however evident they may be, always are of a hypothetical character—should often have been put on a par with well-established facts. Even in those—fortunately enough frequent—cases in which only one etymological connection is possible and all factors perfectly correspond with each other, there remains some uncertainty on the semantic side, not to mention possibilities of parallel developments. Moreover, are we right in the tacit assumption that the meanings of the words under discussion always admitted of exact definitions?; were they completely clear to those who used them? : did the traditional vocabulary of religion and spiritual life leave no room for any ambiguity?

In short, the difficulties in reaching a correct understanding of the real intentions of those ancient poets, of their moods and thoughts, are so obvious that they cannot fail to provoke mistrust of any too assertive an attempt to lift a corner of the veil. For all that it is the fate of the philologist that, in full knowledge of the inadequacy of his tools and methods, he cannot forbear to pose questions and to search for answers, that is to say: to search for that view of a particular phenomenon which for the time beings fits into the picture of ancient Indian culture, which he has made for himself by studying the texts and by considering and re-considering what is the outcome of those studies of pre-scientific and ancient civilizations, which for the present seem to be in accordance with the best standards.

In continuation of what in another publication has been observed on the frequent references in Vedic literature to “broadness” and the obvious importance of the ideas connected with such terms as *uru-* “broad” etc. by the poets and experts to whom we owe the ancient document, and in addition to some notes by Rodhe and by myself, attention may be claimed here for the opposite idea which to all appearance was expressed by some words deriving from the root *amh-*. This family is one of those groups of words which, playing a

more or less important part in Vedic times, was replaced by other expressions at a later period. There can be no doubt whatever as to its general sense. Broadly speaking it meant something like "evil" and was in the commentaries explained accordingly by *papa-* and similar words.

Comparatively clear is, to begin with, the meaning of the noun *amhu*: "Drangsal" (Grassmann); or "Enge, Drangsal" (Roth in the Petr. Dict.). It is always opposed to *uru-* or to the related *arivovittara-*: *varivas-* "space freedom, relief, comfort". Kath. 25,9: 116, 21 where *ariyasi* "broader" and *amhiyasi* "narrower" (in literal sense) are opposites; RV. L107,1 the good disposition (*sumati-*) of the Adityas is expected to find or grant *varivas-* relief from *amhu-*. The particle *cit* occurring 2, 26.2 seems to intimate the serious character of the idea of distress expressed by *amhu-*: "even from *ambu-* Brahmanaspati, the marvellous one, is able to grant relief: literally, "to grant wide space, room, freedom from oppression etc., deliverance". There is no need for the interpretation of the text provided by Sayana of "he grants ample assistance in helping us out of poverty". The same limitation to economic conditions was assumed by this commentator also 1, 107, 1 (cf. 5, 67,4). In 5, 65, 4 *mitro amhos cid ad uru ksayaya gatum vanate* "Mitra gewinnt selbst aus Bedrangis einen Ausweg, freie Bahn zu einem Wohnsitz". In consideration of other passages — 1, 36, 8 where after the victory over Vrtra and the conquest of the waters a broad (tract of land) is said to have been prepared for dwelling in (*uru ksayaya cakrire*); 6, 68, 12 where Indra is invoked to render available a broad (region) for those praying and their children, a broad (region) for dwelling in (*uru ksayaya nas krdhi*), and to procure broadness for living (in); 10, 99, 8 where Indra, giving water, is described as finding a place or free space for, or access to, a dwelling-place (*ksayaya gatum vidan no same*)- these somewhat ambiguous terms may be taken as referring to the difficulties of nomadic life the Rigvedic Aryans, who constituted primarily pastoral

communities and tilled tracts of fertile soil in a very uneconomic way, and who were, moreover, often dislodged from their fields and pastures by those who came after them, eagerly longed for an opportunity to settle in a broad and fertile region where they would be free from narrowness and oppression in various senses of the terms. RV. 5,67,4 Mitra and Varuna are said to give good guidance and good gifts, granting relief even from *amhu-* (*amhos cid urucokrayah*). In 8, 18, 5 the sons of Aditi are described as being able to ward off hostilities and — again the same expression — to grant broadness instead of *amhu-*, in the next stanza the goddess herself is invoked to protect the cattle of those speaking and to protect them from *amhas*, “always increasing”. Here *amhu-* means, according to Sayana, *ahananasila-papa-* i.e. “evil of the nature of beating or killing”, which at least was no doubt one of the aspects of *amhu-*. The same gods are in a prayer for deliverance from danger and distress, not only implored for protection and liberation from bonds, but also stated to have the disposal or “relief from narrowness”, relief being, again, expressed by “broadness” (*asti devaamhor uru*): 8, 67, 7. Here Sayana, misunderstanding *uru*, takes *amhos* as a term for “a killer (destroyer) of bad character”. In the Aitareya-brahmana the “comparative” to the word *amhu-* occurs as an adjective, again in opposition to *uru-* “broad”: 1, 25, 6 *para varyyamso va ime loka arag amhiyamsah* “these worlds are broader above and narrower below”. In the compound *amhubheda-* of obscene sense (“with a narrow slit”: Vaj. S.23, 28), which occurs in one of the mantras used to accompany the rite of the queen and the horse in the Asvamedha, the literal meaning of “narrow” is beyond and doubt.

The Adjective *amhura-* occurs RV. 10,5,6- Ath. V.5,1,6, a stanza of uncertain purport: “the seers have fashioned seven boundaries, unto one of these went one *amhura-*”. Are these seven entities, as was supposed by Geldner, die letzten und höchsten Ideen oder Symbole des Urwesens, bei denen die

Spekulation Halt machen musz"?; is *amhura* "the man who does not find a way out"? Anyhow, this interpretation—which again connects the word with spatial narrowness or lack of room—seems more plausible than the ethical explication suggested by yaska, Nir. 6, 27 and adopted by Durga and Sayana. *amhurah* = *amhurah* = *amhuasvan* = *papavan purusah* "a sinner" (i.e. a thief, the murderer of a brahman or of an embryo etc.)

A very interesting passage is RV. 6, 47, 20 "O gods, we have reached a tract of land without good pasturage for our cattle; the earth though (otherwise, usually) broad, has become narrow" (*agavyuti ksetram aganma deva urvi sati bhumir amhuranabhut*). This statement which of course may be taken in a metaphorical sense—referring to a man who has lost his cows or livelihood: cf. the following words: "Brhaspati and Indra, show the way to the sage who anxious (to find his cows) as in such an (evil) plight"—was made by Sayana to refer to Garga who was lost in the forest. The same word *amhuranan*-occurs, as a substantive, 1, 105, 17 in significant context: Trita who has been buried in a well prays to the gods for help; Brhaspati—a god who protects the honest man from dangers and calamities—hears him and effects his escape, or literally "made broad (ness) from the narrow (ness)": *krnvann amhuranad uru* (*a. amhasad paparupad asmat kupapatad unniya uru vistirnam sobhanam k. kurvan* Sayana). The man either with regard to his person, or with regard to his house, "goes down to *amhurana*-" is "seized by *amhah*" (Kath. 10, 9).

The same god Brhaspati or Brahmanaspati is also addressed in connection with the term *amhas*- to a discussion of which we pass on now. Occupying a position of prominence in the Rgvedic pantheon, he is a priest and a benevolent divinity. He is associated with Agni and Indra and plays also a part in the Indra myth of the release of the cows. He is described as a pathmaker (RV. 2, 23, 6), who drives away enemies and

“wolves” (st. 7). “With good guidance Thou guidest and protectest the man who offer to Thee, (so that) no distress (*amhas*) will reach him”. Although Sayana is again inclined to regard *amhas* as a term for “poverty” (*papam paparupam daridryam va*), some emphasis may be laid on the association of *amhas* with words for protecting and guiding or conducting (st. 4). “Neither *amhas* nor *duritam* (“bad course, difficulty, discomfort”) from anywhere subdue (“surpass”: *titiruh*) him, nor enviousness nor dishonest men; Thou drivest away all mischievous powers from that man whom, O Brahmanaspati, Thou protectest as a good herdsman” (st. 5). Here, Sayana identifies *amhas* with *ahanatvyam duhkham* and *duritam* with *tatkranam papam*, the former explication “trouble to be stuck or beaten” being inspired by an “etymological” association. Another interesting place has already been mentioned : 2, 26, 4 Brahmanaspati leads forward (conducts, promotes etc.) that man who offers to him (*pra tam praca nayati*), he defends him from distress (literally or, rather, originally : ‘he makes him broad out of narrowness’), he saves him from injury...”

Another divinity credited with the ability of protecting from the evil called *amhas* is Pusan, a knower of paths and a guardian of the roads par excellence: he is able to guide the searcher so as to retrieve what has strayed, knows the regions, protects cattle and property, brings it back when it is lost. He is implored to remove dangers, the wolf, the waylayer, from the road (cf. 1, 42, 1 ff.), to protect the herdsman and his herd from the many dangers which beset the way, to make the roads easy and passable, to lead the way to a pasture rich in grass. In this connection he is called the “deliverer” (*vimocana-*) and “the descendant of unharnessing” (*vimuco napat*) which appears to mean “the representative of the power effecting a safe and sound return home” (1. 42, 1). The interpretation proposed by Sayana of the beginning of this passage (“O Pusan, pass through the ways, remove the *amhas*:.... *sam pusann adhavanas tira vy amhah* ...), viz.

“O Pusan, cause us duly to reach the goal desired and destroy the evil which is the cause of hindrances (obstacles etc.)” (*vighnahetum papmanam*) may be regarded as plausible.

Now that our attention has been drawn to the relation between *amhas* and difficulties on the road we may also discuss here passages such as 2, 34, 15 where the Maruts are besought to extend a similar favour to those praying and the verb used (*parayathaty amhah*) literally means “to bring across”. The same significance is still more obvious 7, 66. 5: “may those be in front (of us) on our march who bring us across the *amhas*” (*pra nu yaman ... ye no amho 'tipiprati*): there seems to be no need to explain this place metaphorically: in the preceding lines the god, Varuna, is implored to protect the eulogist and his relations and to hear their prayers; “this abode must”, it is added, “be very attentive or helpful”; and in st. 8 the poem is explicitly stated to lead to wealth and to power safeguarding against “wolves”, a term which no doubt included other living beings of a sinister and malevolent nature, such as robbers, waylayer etc. The same verb *ati pr-* is used 10, 35, 14 “whom, O gods, you favour at the winning of *vaja-*, i.e.- “vigour”, whom you rescue, whom you bring across *amhah* ...”: without insisting on the demonstrative force of the argument it may be observed that all other terms for various kinds of good and evil in this poem (favour, wealth, soundness; disease etc.) are usually taken in a literal sense. However, there is nothing which precludes us from taking these words in a metaphorical sense which 10, 63, 6 is even probable: “the sacrifice, offered to you (gods), which will bring us across *amhas* in order to obtain well-being (*svastaye*)”.

Incidentally the term under discussion is opposed to a word for “shelter, refuge, safety”, *sarman-* which however is likewise apt to be used in a metaphorical sense—: 10, 66, 5 where a variety of gods are invoked to grant *sarman-* which gives threefold (i.e. effective) protection against *amhas*: (Saraswat, Varuna, Pusan, Visnu etc.) *sarma no yamsan*

trivarutham amhasah. Still more significant are 10, 25, 8: "O Soma, do Thou that art more familiar with localities than man protect us from injury (*druh-*) and *amhas*" (*ksetravittaro manusa vi ... druho nah paby amhasah...*)—in the preceding stanza Soma is implored to be the herdsman of those praying and 1, 106, 1: "Asa chariot (is brought) across a difficult or narrow passage — *durga-*, which can also stand for "a place difficult of access" or "difficulty, danger or distress" in a more general sense, "bring us out of (rescue us from : *nis pipartana*) all *amhas*": *papad asman nirgamayya palayata* (Sayana). Compare also the difficult passage 1, 180, 5: *jurno vam aksur amhasah*- although Geldner's interpretation "abgenutzt ist eure Stange (?) infolge der Not" is very problematic, it must be conceded that *aksu-* seems to refer to a part of the chariot of the gods addressed (the Asvins) ; cf. 1, 184, 3. If *jurna* - means "worn out, decayed" and *aksu-* refers to a pole or similar object - is the word related to *aksa*- "axle"; which denotes also "the beam of a balance" and the "collar-bone"? *aksu* probably referring to other stakes or beams—, *amhasah* may, in a literal sense mean : "on account of the narrowness of the road or passage", intimating the narrow escape from danger or evil on the part of those men who were rescued by the god. Worth mentioning is also 3.59.2 "he is neither killed nor defeated ("wird nicht erschlagen noch ausgeraubt", Geldner); *amhas* does not fall upon him ..."

The word *amhas* is not infrequently accompanied by the very *tr-* which, in a general sense, means "to cross over (a river), to pass across, to get through, attain an aim or end", and hence also "to overcome, surpass, rescue", by the by-forms *tra-* "to protect"; by forms belonging to *pr-* or its compounds "to bring over, rescue, save, escort, protect, preserve, surpass, etc." Cf. 2, 33, 3 *parsi nah param amhasah svasti ...* "(O Rudra), bring us successfully to the opposite side of distress, ward of all assaults of *rapas* (a collective term for a special kind of injurious powers)"; 1, 115, 6; 2, 34, 15; 3, 32, 14; 4.2, 8; 7, 6, 4, 8; 23, 2; 40, 4; 10, 65.12. Thus we find 6, 2, 4 *dviso amho na*

tarati "he overcomes hostilities like *amhas*"; cf. also 10, 132, 7. RV. 5, 45, 11, the last stanza of a poem dealing with the first sunrise after the rainy season, expresses the wish to survive the *amhas*: no doubt the difficulties of the rain which prevented people from travelling or caused discomfort to those who were on the way. The poet of 6, 67, 8 using the phrase *dasuse vi cayistam amhah* "remove, for Thy worshipper, the distress" may have modelled it upon the frequent *vi-ci pathas* "to clear or prepare roads". cf. e.g. 1.90, 4: 4, 37, 7; see also 4, 20, 9 *vicayistho amhah*. Similes not rarely shed light on the significance attributed to a phrase by the poet who used it: thus 4, 2, 8 where Agni is besought to rescue the man who honours him from *amhas* like a horse: probably the horse which after an accident on the road puts things right again. In the rather obscure stanza 10. 132.7 the purohita Nrmedha driving Agni as the horse of the chariot which is the sacrifice, is stated to have achieved a deliverance from *amhas*, 4, 12, 6 *amhas* is compared to foot-irons or similar impediments.

Of special interest is the association of *amhas* and *durita-* which deriving from *i-* "to go" means "faring ill, a bad course", and hence, "a difficulty, hardship, danger, discomfort, evil". Compare: 10, 39, 11 *namho asnoti duritam nakir bhayam* "neither *a.* and *d.* nor fear does reach him"; 126, 1 where Sayana is again inclined to consider *d.* and *tapas* "pain, suffering"; 2, 23, 5 *na tam amho na duritam kutas cana naratyas titirur na dvayavinah* "uber ihn kommen weder Not noch Gefahr von irgend einer Seite, nicht Miszgunst noch Doppelzungige" (Geldner). For *durga-* see also 1, 99, 1. Other terms for related ideas are, for instance, *gatu-* "path, way" in the sense of "free space for moving, and hence progress, welfare". 1, 106, 5 "Brhaspati, make us always an easy course" (*sugam krdhi*); 102, 4 the same word is associated with *varivas* "width, room, free scope".

In places the choice of words reflects the difficulties of nomadic life and the desire to find a suitable place of

residence: 6, 2, 11 where the wish for *suastim suksitim* "well-being and a good abode" is followed by *dvisa amhamasi durita tarema* "may we overcome enmities, troubles, and difficulties".

That the idea expressed by *amhas* and that of "broadness" expressed by *uru-* and its family were opposites appears from a considerable number of places; 1, 63, 7, Indra in destroying the enemies changed, on behalf of Puru, *amhas* into *varivas* "room, space", also "ease, comfort", and according to Sayana *dhanam* "property, wealth": "da schafftest du ... dem Puru Befreiung aus Not" (Geldner); 6, 37, 4 where Indra, as broad as possible in giving the sacrificial gift, is stated to "go round" i.e. to avoid the *amhas*, which is paraphrased by Sayana: *papam yajnasambandhi* "evil connected with the sacrifice". RV. 1, 58, 8 Agni is besought to protect the eulogist from *amhas* by means of strongholds made of iron - i.e. with effective help (cf. Sayana)—, the term for "protect" being *urusya*; cf. also st. 9;1, 91,, 15 the same verb is used in connection with imprecations: protect us from i. (*urusya no abhisasteh*), save us from *amhas*: 4, 55, 5 "the Lord (in all probability: Varuna) may protect (*urusyet*) us against *amhas* originating with strangers, Mitra against that originating with friends"; 7, 1, 15 Agni is stated to protect against the jealous enemy and to safeguard (*urusyat*) against *amhas*. It is in this connection important to notice that the geographic and economic contrast between the narrow, hostile and infertile mountains and the broad, inviting and productive plains was not rarely expressed by words of a similar meaning. The Avestan *ravah-* which may be rendered by "clear space, open country" and "freedom, free scope, liberty"—an ideal so much desired that it is expected to be realised in paradise: Yt. 3, 4 - is in the compound *ravas-carat-*used to characterise those animals which move in the plains, not in the mountains (Yt. 8, 36). This word is generally considered as related to the German group Goth. *rus* "open country".

Other opposites of *amhas* are wealth happiness: 6.4.8 “on ‘wolfless’ paths”; 6, 11, 6 where wealth is a remedy for *amhas*; property; 4, 20, 9; “well-being” (*svasti-*), cf. 5, 51, 13; “life and physical abilities (denoted by *caratha-* “going): 1, 36, 14; continuation of life: 4, 12, 6. The prayer for protection against the evil called *amhas* is accompanied by the wish to see the cattle in a well-preserved condition: 8, 18 6. Rgvedakhila 2, 6, 18 Sch. *amhas* is co-ordinated with *enas* “sin” and opposed to *rayasposa-* “increase of wealth and property”. The *amhas* developed into a general term for “evil” (*papa*-Sayana) may also appear from the frequent use of verbs of “reaching, coming upon” etc. on the one hand, and from general terms for protecting or freeing on the other: cf. e.g. 3, 59, 2 *nainam amho asnoti*; 7, 82, 7: 1. 18, 5 *daksina patv amhasah*. That the idea expressed by *amhas* sometimes had a rather serious character may also appear from 6, 16, 31 where the “distress” consists in immediate danger of life, occasioned by the weapon of an enemy; cf. probably also 7.23, 2; 10, 36, 2 *amhas* as associated with *ris-* “injury” and *Nirrti*, i.e. the goddess of destruction or perdition: in the next stanza *amhas* seems to be opposed to the safety of sunlight: literally the wolfless, i.e. inoffensive, safe light of the sun. Sometimes *amhas* obviously refers to disease: 10, 97 15 where the medicinal herbs are stated to deliver, by Brahaspati’s orders, from *amhas*. RV. 1. 118, 8 a man was in distress because his cow did not yield milk.

In a frequency of passages the term *amhas* must have had a very general meaning: “evil”. Here Sayana’s favourite interpretation *pada-* is no doubt pertinent. Cf. 6, 48, 8 where Agni is invoked to protect man for the whole of his lifetime, against *amhas*; 7, 15, 3; 13, 15. It is worth noticing that it is, here and elsewhere, the burning fire which, of course owing to its character as a destroyer of evil influences, is explicitly described as exerting this protective function, which may be regarded as one of the fundamental motives of fire worship. See also 1, 18, 5; 93, 8; 136, 5; 4, 53, 5; 5, 31, 13; 6, 67, 8; 8,

31, 2; 8, 56, 4.

Of special interets is the connection with *bhaya*-: “fear, dread; peril, danger’ and relative words: 2, 28, 6 Varuna is invoked to free the person speaking from *amhas* as a calf from a rope and to keep off fear; cf. also 10, 35, 14; with darkness : 7, 71, 5 (*tamas*); with battle or contest: 1, 54, 1 disease: 8, 18, 10 ward off disease, failing (*sridh*-), ill-will (*durmati*-) and protect us against *amhas*; cf. 2, 33, 2; bears and the weapons of the *dasas* (non-Aryans): 8, 24, 27; hatred or hostility: 2, 33, 2; 6, 55, 16; 10, 24, 3; blame or disgrace: 1, 115, 6; various kinds of demons or evil beings : 9, 104, 6 *raksas atri*- “devourer”, and *dvayu*- “dishonest man”; 1, 36, 14; 4, 3, 14; 7, 15, 13; 15; *amati*- “indigence” and *durmati*- “bad disposition of mind”: 4, 11, 6; dissatisfaction and haughtiness ; 6, 3, 2. It may be noticed that RV. 7, 15, 13 is prescribed by one of the authors of the Rgvedhana in a rite performed in order to annihilate the guilt caused by ‘myriads of sins’ (2, 25, 3-5).

The *amhas* is sometimes said to originate in a definite source, or to belong to a definite being. Compare 4, 2, 9 *nainam amhah pari varad aghayoh* “the distress (trouble) brought about by the malignant one must not surround him”; although the metaphorical sense is obvious the very “surround” instead of “vex, annoy” may be a reminiscence of the original meaning of *amhas*; 10, 164, 4 *amhas* of enemies (“Bedrangnis der Feinde” Geldner); 8, 19, 6 mentions *amhas* caused by gods or men; 7, 104, 23 *amhas* originating in heaven and on the earth.

In the Atharvaveda the original sense of the term under consideration has been more fallen into the background. It belongs to those manifestations of evil against which man attempts to protect himself by amulets: 2, 4, 3 “let this amulet which overpowers the *viskandha* — which is defined by the commentary on 1, 16, 3 as disorder or a disturbance caused by demons and obstructing motion — protect us from distress (*amhas*)”; although the use of this remedy is described with a profusion of terms of various evils, the observation made by

the commentary : “(this text is) for thwarting witchcraft, for protecting one’s self, for putting down hindrances” may have been inspired by this line. Cf. also 4, 10, 1 where a pearlshell amulet tied on in a ceremony for long life (cf. Kausikasutra 58, 8) is invoked to protect from distress. Elsewhere gods are besought for the same reason: 2, 28, 1 (Mitra); 6, 3, 2 (Soma); 11, 6, 1-6 (a great variety of divinities) : 10-21 (gods and other potent beings or entities) cf. also 4, 23, 1-29, 7; 1, 31, 2 where the *amhas* combines with the fetters of *nirrti*- (“perdition”). Or the purifying waters are expected to annihilate *amhas*: 7, 112, 1; 10, 5, 22; 14, 2, 45; or herbs: 6, 96, 1; 8, 7, 13; or rice and barley : 8, 2, 18; various animals : 11, 6, 8.

Ath. V. 8, 7, 13 the word *amhas* is associated with the idea of death : 2.28, 1 with that of dying prematurely; 8, 2, 18 with *yuksma*- a class of diseases of a consumptive nature (the text is to prolong one’s life); 4, 10, 3 with disease, misery or indigence and a class of evil beings called *sadanvas* : 6, 45, 3 with *durita*- (“difficulty”, Whitney-Lanman), see above, cf. also 7, 64, 1; 10, 5, 22; 8, 4, 23 with demons, sorcery etc., 6, 45, 3 the affliction called *amhas* appears to be an evil consequence of “proceeding falsely”: 7.112, 1 f. a curse seems to be its origin, or, what is more probable, it is associated with a curse (cf. 6, 96, 1 f.); 7, 64, 1 the cause of the distress and difficulty is an ominous black bird which has dropped something; 10, 5, 22 untruth spoken; 19, 44, 8 untruth (*anrtam*) and *amhas* seem to be identical : cf. 9.

Amhas, 6, 99, 1, can on the other hand be caused by human beings: 9, 2, 3 the wish is pronounced that those who devise distresses — the word in the related *amhurana* — will be afflicted by manifold evil. The other place exhibiting the term *amhurana* — (at least in one of its ‘special meanings’ or ‘developments’ expressed by a derivative) is of interest because of the antithesis between “distress” and “width” (*varimatas*); “Thee. O Indra, on account of width, Thee against ‘distress’ I call” : the commentator is no doubt right in

interpreting these words: “for the sake of width” (*urutvad dhetoh*).

It may be of interest to add some particulars borrowed from other Vedic texts. Vaj. Samh. 4, 10 a staff of udumbara wood given by the adhvaryu priest to the institutor of the sacrifice is addressed : “stand up. O tree: being erect protect me from distress (*amhas*) until this sacrifice is ended”. Here the harm is of a general character. Cf. e.g. also Taitt. Br. 3, 6.1.2. In 12, 9 - one of a series of formulas relating to the treatment of agni of the Fire-pan and the preparation of the ahavaniya fire-altar- Agni is implored to return with food and life and to preserve those praying from *amhas*. In 20, 14 ff. the person speaking addresses Agni, Vayu and Surya asking them to free him from “that ‘sin’ and all distress” (the words used are *enas* and *amhas*) which he has committed and which has stirred the wrath of the gods: one of those prayer from general deliverance from “evil” or “sin” frequently to be found in these documents. Another passage where the *amhas* is not specified is 33, 42: “O gods, deliver us from distress and dishonour (*nir amhasah piprta nir vadyat*) when the sun has arisen.” A special evil is, however, meant 19, 10: the ‘goddess’ of cholera (or a similar disease) Visucika who protects man from wild animals, is brought to guard the client of the priest from distress, i.e. not to attack him.

Similar prayers occur in the Yajur-veda. In the Taittiriya-samhita I, 8, 1, 1 the goddess of perdition, Nirrti, is implored “to free him from *amhas*” 2,3,13, 1 Indra and Varuna (“with their strong, protective, brilliant body”); 4, 7, 15, 1, Agni; 4, 3, 13, 5, the maruts. The author emphasizes Indra’s power to deliver man from *amhas*: 2, 2, 7, 3 f. “he who is seized by misfortune should offer a cake on eleven potsherds to Indra, deliverer from tribulation (*amhomuc-*), tribulation (*amhas*) is misfortune (*papman-*) ...” Cf, also 2, 4, 2, 2; 3. A formula (ibid. 3, 1, 4i) found also in various srautasutras (e.g. Apast. 6, 17, 3) is to appease the evil caused by inasuspicious

behaviour of the sacrificial animal and implore Agni "to release the person speaking from that sin (*enas*), from all misfortune (*amhas*)" TS. 4, 3, 13, 4 the poet asks the Maruts to loosen the bonds of tribulation; instead of *amhasas* the corresponding line in the Ath. V., 7.77,3 has *enasas* "sin, evil". See also 3, 2, 4, 3. Finally, the man whose enemy is superior to him, is described as being seized by "trouble or tribulation" (*amhas*): 2, 4, 2, 3.

Some words may be said on *amhas* in the brahmanas and other Vedic, in which it is not very frequent. Sankh. (Kaus.) Br. 26, 4, it means affliction, trial, tribulation" in a rather general sense: "it is an *amhas* to the sacrifice if the priest in the *sadas* calls attention to a flaw passed over"; however, the tribulation may be an "oppression". A very interesting formula quoted, with some variations, in several works (Sat Br. 1, 5, 1, 22: Ap. Sr. su. 6, 2, 21, 1: Asv. Sr. su. 1,2, 1; Sankh. Sr. su. 1, 6, 4 runs as follows: "the six broad ones must protect me against *amhas* (*san morvir amhasas pantu*), to wit fire, earth, water, the power of vegetation and victorious success (*vaja*), day and night" (SatBr.), "...heaven and earth, water and medicinal herbs, refreshing food (vigour) and youthful vitality" (*...urk ca sunrta ca*, Ap.), or "heaven and earth, day and night, water and herbs", (Sankh.). The antithesis *uru: amhas* is again obvious, the more so as the powers enumerated are representatives of that beneficial 'broadness' and extensiveness, which carries man through the difficulties of life. It is clear that to the mind of those composing these formulas the ideas associated with earth, water, herbs, youth etc. were opposed to *amhas*. With the exception of the night — which however in connection with day merely serves to express the ideas of time — these 'concepts', phenomena or powers are all of them not only conducive, but even necessary, to human life, well-being and happiness: the broad sky, atmosphere and earth allow the powers of heaven to produce the effects desired, without water no fertility is possible, without youthful vitality the community is doomed to death.

The veil consequences of any event preventing these powers from operating and manifesting their “broadness” are therefore called *amhas*. In Apastamba’s sutra the above formula is followed by Taitt. Samh. 4, 7, 14 w (-RV. 4M, 12,6)”even as ye did set free, O bright ones (the gods), the buffalo cow bound by the foot, so do ye remove tribulation (*amhas*) from us; be our life prolonged further, O Agni”, and Taitt. Br. 2, 5, 8, 3 “set us free, who so to say, have been caught in a snare”.

Amar-, Amaritr- and Marmartu

Within the language of the *Rigveda* there appear from derivatives *amaritr-*, *amur-*, *mur-*, *amuri-* from an Old Indic root *mr* (ablaut-type *prataritr-*, *supratur-*, *taturi-*; *tr* cross’) attested in seven passages in total, and restricted in distribution to three hymn-cycles of the collection (IV, VIII m IX). Since the last occurrence of these formations is encountered at IX 61.24 in the *Soma-mandala*, undoubtedly a compilation of hymns directed to that divinity which have been extracted from the family-books, we may at once try to be more exacting about the probable source of the hymn in question. Valuable evidence in this direction is provided by the mention of the name Turvasa Yadu in verse 2, for elsewhere in the *samhita*- omitting five passages in the heterogeneous 1st cycle and one in the younger Xth cycle—this name (in one form or another) appears only in the Vth through VIIIth *mandalas*, distributed in the following fashion: V, VI, VII, VIII. The manifestly predominant use of Turvasa in hymn-cycle VIII and its absence in hymn-cycle IV, the only other locus of the formations from *mr* under discussion, thus seem to clearly suggest that IX 61 originally stemmed from the same bardic circle as the hymns of the VIIth *mandala*. And in support of this view, we note that the *anukramani* attributes the composition of IX 61 to a poet, Amahiya Angirasa, whose family name figures, second only to the Kanvas, among the bards of cycle VIII (e.g., Purumedha Ang., Priyamedha Ang., Virupa Ang., etc.), but never among those of cycle IV. We

may therefore consider the set of forms under discussion to be part of the isolated and therefore characteristic vocabulary of the two aforementioned *mandalas*.

Equal precision must also be reached with regard to the derivatives *amaritr*—, *amtu*-, *mur*-, *amuri*- themselves. For, as one readily notices, all the formations are combined with the prevery *a*, save the papaz *mur*- encountered at VIII.66.2a. This situation makes the latter form immediately suspect, and in light of the fact that other root-nouns terminating in *-r*, with the exception of *gir* 'song', which have transparent connections with verbal roots, likewise only appear in compounded form, e..g., *aptur*- 'water-crossing', *asir*- (Soma-) mixture', *upastir* 'cover, cushion', etc., an explanation is indeed needed to account for the anomalous shape of *mur*-.

To this end, recourse to metrical considerations is most important and revealing, since an examination of the four passages containing *amur*- shows that this derivative is consistently employed, in plural form, in the finale of eight-syllable lines. Thus, VIII 39.2e *ito yuchantu amurah, amurah*, the closely related padas IV 31.9 *radho varanta amurah* and VIII.24.5b *hastam varanta amurah*, IX.61.24b *syama vanvanta amrah*, which is doubtlessly a stylistic variation on the preceding two lines, with *vanvanta*(s) chosen as a rhyme-form of the *samdhu*- variant of the aorist subj. *varanta*(y) (<*varante*.) Turning our attention now to the attestation of *mur*- in VIII.66.2a, we find the word, again in plural form, appearing in pada-final position, but this time in a twelve-syllable line : *na yam dudhra varante na sthira mrah*.. If, however, we discard the four-syllable opening, the remaining part of the verse *varante na sthira mrah* is seen to consist of an eight-syllable line so similar to the last three containing *amurah* in the eidentical materical position that, as is obvious, we have no other choic than to regard the sequence as representing the haplologic form of an underlying *varante na sthira amurah*. Parallels of this type of reduction of -a a->

-a are offered by the padas VI.35.3d *kada gamagha havanani gachah* (for ...gomagha ahavanani) which is metrically identical to VII 1.17a *t(u) ve agna ahavanani bhuri* (cp. also VII 8.5a), II.13.14a *tejisthaya tapani, raksasas tapa* (for *tejisthaya atapani...*), and by several other examples in the *samhita*. Thus, as we have been able to pin-point the distribution of these formations to the two hymn-cycles IV and VIII, we may also safely operate with only three of them as original -amaritr-, amur- and amuri- and now proceed to the problem of their meaning, the chief consideration of this investigation.

Anatomy

Anatomy is the science of form and structure of organized bodies and is acquired practically by separating of the parts of a body, so as to show their distinct formation and their relations to each other. It is, therefore, a branch of Biology, which consists of two great divisions - the anatomy of animals, styled *zootomy*, and that of plants, *phytotomy*. In the West we find that Alemaeon of Crotona, a disciple of pythagoras, and Democritus, are said to have dissected animals with the view of obtaining comparative knowledge of human anatomy. Hippocrates born at Cos about 460 B.C., though the father of the Western medicine, is less justly regarded as the father of anatomy, as his view of the structure of the hyman body are very superficial and incorrect. According to the established authority, Aristotle, born 384 B.C. is really the founder of the science in Europe. He seems to have based his views of comparative anatomy of the dissection of animals, but does not appear to have dissected, men. He first gave the name *aorta* to the great artery. Later on, Erasistratus (250 B.C.) was the first to dissect- human bodies the bodies of criminals. Herophilus also is said to have dissected living subjects. Celsus (63 B.C.) in his *Demeeicina* wrote much on anatomy.

Anatomical studies constituted to be a very favourite subject

with the *Atharvangirasas*, the group of people associated with the Rgvedic and Atharvaveda literature. Inspired by the hymns of these Samhitas, they proceeded to the study of human and other living bodies. As in other cases (such as astronomy and geometry), anatomy also became an essential part of the study of the Ancients round the sacred fire. Round the *Yajna*, which was for these ancient lovers of knowledge the open air observatories and laboratories they developed this branch of discipline also. The dissections were done on the dead bodies before cremation (some times after the dissection the dead parts of body were submitted to the flames for consumption). In many cases the dissections were done on such bodies of children as were not entitled of cremation rites in the proper form. This led to the counting of bones in a body. The comparative anatomy also was pursued in relations to the bodies of cow, horse and goat and sheep which were the Prominent reared by the human society.

Kikasah : VII. 5.1.35; VIII 6.2.10

kikasasu : VIII. 6.2.10

The word also occurs in the *Aitarey Brahmana*, VII. 1 and the *Gopatha Brahmana*, I. 3.18; in the *Yajurveda*, XXV. 6; and the *Atharvaveda* as follows :

kikasah : VII.80.3; IX. 12. 5; 13. 14; XI. 10.15

kiksabhyah : II.32.2.XX.96.18; also in the Rgveda, X. 163.2

- (v) We have been told that in the belly, there are twenty *kuniapas*. The meaning of the *kuntapa* is also doubtful.

The St. Petersburg suggests that certain glands may be intended thereby; but according to Eggeling, possibly the term may refer to the transverse processes (forming spikes, so as to speak of *kunta*) on both sides of the ten lower spinal vertebrae below the vertebra of the last true rib, i.e. of the five lower dorsal, and the five lumbar

vertebrae.

- (vi) We have been told that there are thirteen ribs or *parsu* on one side and thirteen on the other side. The clavicle, or collarbone, would thus seem to be classed along with the ribs. Rather peculiar, in the anatomical phraseology employed in the Brahmana, is the collateral use of *parsu* and *prsti* for rib; and according to Eggeling, it is by no means clear that there is no distinction between the two terms. (The term *prsti* has been used in connection with *Retahsic* bricks, of. VIII. 6.2.7)

Anatomy in the Rgveda

We have an opportunity of getting a glimpse at the anatomy of man as given in the *Rgveda*, while dealing with a Sukta on Yaksma or phthisis (X. 163) : I banish the disease from thine eyes (*aksi*), from thy nose (*nasika*), from the ear (*karna*), from thy chin (*chuouka*) from the head (*Sirsan*) from thy brain (*masttiska*), from thy tongue (*jihva*) (1)

I banish disease from thy neck (*griva*) from the nape of thy neck (*usn;ha*), from thy *kikasas* from thy backbone (*anukya*), from thy shoulders (*amsa*), and from thy forearms (*bahu*). (2)

I banish disease from thine entrails (*antra*), from thy anus (*guda*), from thine abdomen (*uras*), from thy heart (*hrdaya*) from thy two bones situated on either side of the heart (*matasna*); from thy liver (*yakan*, same as *yakrta*), and from thy viscera (*plasi*). (3)

I banish the disease from the thigh (*uru*), from thy knees (*asthivad*), from thy heels (*parsni*), from thy toes (*prapada*), from thy loins (*sroni*), from thy buttocks (*bhasada*), from thy *bharisas* (abdomen intestine or private parts). (4)

I banish disease from thy urethra (*mehana*), from thy bladder (*vanamkarana*), from thy hairs (*loma*), and from the nails

(*nakha*) from thy whole person. (5)

I banish disease from each limb, from each hair, from each point (*parva*), where it is generated, from the whole person (6)

A few of the terms are inserted in this hymn :

- (i) *chubuka* for *cibuka* (chin).
- (ii) *Usniha* which has been translated by Sayana as *urdhvabhi-mukha*, *snigdha*, and also as *utsnata* and also as *snayu* (sinews)
- (iii) *kikasa* has been translated by Sayana as *asthi* or bone.
- (iv) *Anuka* has been translated as *asthi-samdhi* or joint bone.
- (v) *Matasna* has been translated by Sayana as the two mangoshaped kidneys situated on the two sides.
- (vi) *Yakna* has been translated as the dark-flesh coloured *Yakrta* or liver situated near the heart.
- (vii) *Plasi* includes *kloma* (lung *pliha* (spleen), and the like.
- (viii) The backpart of foot (i.e. heel) is known as *parsni* and the front part (as toe) as *prapada*.
- (ix) *Bhasat* is the *kati-pradesa* or hips and buttocks.
- (x) Sayana has translated *bhansas* as *payu* or anus.
- (xi) *Vanamkarana* has been derived from *vanam*=*udakarm* or water, *karana*, by which is eliminated, and hence bladder.

मेहनाद् वनं करणात्लोमभ्यस्ते नखेभ्यः।

यक्ष्मं सर्वस्मादानस्तदिदं वि बृहामि ते ॥ (५)

अङ्गादङ्गात्लोम्नो लोम्नो जातं पर्वणि पर्वणि।

यक्ष्मं सर्वस्मादात्मनस्तमिदं वि बृहामि ते ॥ (६)

—Rv. X. 163.5-6

Anatomy in the Yajurveda

The twenty-fifty Chapter of the *Yajurveda* is devoted to animal anatomy. The limbs enumerated are as follows. As usual, each term is associated with a certain deity, which I am not mentioning here in the list.

1. Dat—tooth (see Rv. VIII.43.3; X.68.6 also)
Danta—mula-gums
Barsva—socket of a tooth
Danstra—fangs (large tooth)
Arga—jihva tip of the tongue
Jihva—root of the tongue
Talu—plate
Hanu—jaws (two)
Asya—mouth
Anda—testicles (two)
Smasru—beard
Bhru—eyebrow (two)
Varca—same as vartaman;
Paksma—pankti (two)-eyelashes
Kanink—pupil of the eye
2. Nasika—nostrils (two)
Prana—breath
Apana—outbreath
Adhara—lower lip
Ostha—upper lip
Saduttara—prakasa-bright look
Anukara—reflection (gloss on the lower part of the body)
Mastiska—head
Kaninaka—pupil of the eye (two)
Karna—ears (two) (external ears)
Srotra—internal ears (two)
Adhara—Kantha-lower neck
Tedani—clotted blood (see also SBr. 1.9.2.35; XIII.5.3.8)
Suska—Kantha-fleshless part of the neck

Manya-nape or the back of the neck (*musculus cucullaris* or *trapezius*) (see also Av. VI. 25.1) (The *Atharvaveda* mentions of 55 meeting round the manya or the tendons of the neck. and 77 meeting round the upper vertebrae. *graiyya*; VI.25 2; and 99 attacking the shoulder round about, *skandhya*): thus manya, as *graiyya* and *skandhya*.

Si—head

Stupa—knot or tuft of hair (see SBr. I.3.3.5; 12; 4.10: III.5.3.4)

3. Kesa—hair

Svapasa vaha—active shoulder

Sakuni Sada—quick spring

Safa-boofs

Sthura-ankles, buttocks or lower parts of the thing; fetlocks (see Rv. IV. 21.4; VI.19.10; 29.2; VIII.1.34; 4, 19; 21.1; 24.29; 54.8;x. 156.3. and *Gopatha* I.5.5)

Jangha—things (two)

Jambiala—kneepan, knee-joint.

Ati ruc—horse's fetlock or knee

Dos—fore-arms (two) (see SBr. *Dor bahavani* : VIII. 3.4. 4; 4. 3.10, meaning two forearms)

Amsa—shoulders (two)

4. Paksa—thirteen ribs on the right side

Nipaksa—thirteen ribs on the left side

5. Daksina parsva—right flank

Uttara parsva—right flank

6. Skandha—shoulders

Prathama kikasa—first rib-cartilage, second and then third.

Puccha—tail

Bhasada—hind-quarters. buttocks

Sroni—hips (two)

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Uru—things (two)

Alga—groins

Sthura—buttocks

Kustha—cavities of the loins

- 7. Vanisthu—part of the entrails of an animal; according to Scholiast either rectum or a particular part of the intestines near the omentum. (see also Rv. X. 163. 3 and Av. II. 4; IX. 12 12; X.9.17; XX.96.20) Sthula-guda-large intestine**

Antra—entrails

Vasti—bladder

Guda—guts

Anda—testicles

Vrsana—scrotum

Sep—penis

Retas—seed, semen

Pitta—bile

Pradara—fissures

Payu—anus

Saka—pinda-lumps of dung

- 8. Kroda—chest**

Pajasya—beely; regions of a belly; flank, sides. (see Av. IV. 14. 8; IX. 12.5; X.10.20 and SBr. X. 6.4.1)

Jatru-clavicles

Bhasat—neither hind part the hinder of secret part, *pudendum muliebre*, (see Rv. X. 86. 7; Av. IV. 14.8)

Hridayu—Pasa-heart and paricardium (fleshy part of the heart).

Puritat-pericardium or some other organ near the heart; (see also *puritat*. Av. IX. 7.11.X9.15; SBr.VIII 5 4.6; XIV.5.1.21)

Udarya belly

Matarsna—cardiac bones

Vrkka—kidneys

Plasi—ducts

Plihan—spleen

Kloma—lungs

Glau—lumps or parts of flesh; certain arteries or vessels of the heart (Scholiat.)

Hira—veins

Kulsi—flanks

Udara—belly

Bhasman—ash

9. Nabhi—Navel

Rusa—flavour

Yusan—broth

Viprud—drops of fat

Usman—heat

Vasa—marrow

Asru—tears

Dusika—the rheum of the eye

Asrk—blood (from asan)

Anga—limb

Rupa—beauty

Tvak—skin.

• **Human Anatomy in the Atharvaveda:** In Book XX of the *Atharvaveda* we have a hymn devoted to phthisis and other diseases and their removal and elimination from various anatomical organs (Av. XX. 96.17-23).

The organs enumerated are as follows:

17. Aksi—eyes

Nasika—nose or nostrils

Karna—ears

Chubuka—chin

Siras—Sirsnyam-head

Mastiska—brain

Jihva—tongue

18. Griva—neck

Usnth—neck-tendons

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Kikasa—brest—bones
Anukya—spine or backbone
Amsa—shoulders
Bahu arms

19. Hrdaya—heart
Kloman—right lung
Kaliksna—particular intestine
Parsva—region of ribs
Matasna—cardiac bones
Pliha—spleen
Yakan—Yakrtra—liver

20. Antra—entrails
Guda—anus (guts)
Vanisthu—rectum or intestines near the omentum
Udara—belly, stomach
Kuksi—groin
Nabhi-navel

21. Uru—things
Asthivad—kneecaps
Parsni—heels
Prapada—forepart of the feet
Bhasad—hips, buttocks
Sroni—hips
Bhansas—grain or private parts

22. Asthi—bones
Majja marrow
Sun—Snayu-sinew (Snavabhyah)
Dhamani—artery
Pani—hand
Anguli—fingers
Nakha—nails
Loman—hairs
Anga—member, limb or part of body
Parva—joint.

(Av. XX 96..17.23, also see Av. IX. 8-1-22)

Andha and Srona

At Rgveda 4.30.19 we get the following as one of the exploits of Indra : *anu dva jahita nayo andham sronam ca vrtrahan / na tat te stunamastave /*

This means:— You led to safety the two forlorn perons, the blind and the maimed, O killer of Vrtra. That favour of yours is unattainable (brothers). Here the favour of Indra is said to consist in leading the two persons, the andhaor the blind and the srona or the maimed to safety. But certain questions arise in respect of this; for example, does this mean that this 'leading to safety' also involved the removal of the physical defets of blindness and lameness of the two; or is it merly a temporary help out of a particular difficult situation" Again is there any point in their being mentioned together, thus suggesting their mutual association under Indra's guidance, or is much a mention purely accidental? finally, in view of the same words, *andha* and *srona*, being employed in respect of one and the same person, namely, Paravrj at 1.112.8 and 2.13.12 (cf. also 2.15.7 and 4.19.9), is it possible that here too in 4.30.19, they are to be taken as referring to the same person and that owing to some circumstances the word *dva* and the consequent *ca* came to be employed with reference to him?

In v. 16 of this same hymn, i.e. 4. 30, we get a reference to this Paravrj, here called Paravrakta owing to metre; but the stanza merely mentions that Satakratu Indra gave a share to Paravkta, the son of a maiden, in his own hymns. The manner or the nature of the help which was given to him is not recorded in it. In between these two stanzas, vv. 16 and 19, we get an allusion to two pairs of Aryan kings one of the favoured and the other of the slaughtered ones. Apparently owing to the intervention of these other two stanzas, vv. 16 and 19 amdy not be considered as referring to one and the same person. Further, in view of the two pairs mentioned in vv. 17 and 18, we naturally expect a third pair in v. 19, either of the favoured or of the unfavoured persons. It is also

significant that the idea of 'leading' either to safety or to ruin is prominent in all the three stanzas (17-19) cf. *aparayatin* v. 17; *paratah* in v. 18 and *anu nayah* in V.B. The pair of Turvasa and yadu was led to safety beyond a river; perhaps at the same place and in the interest of the same, the pair of Arna and Citraratha was killed. In that case this must have happened on the yonder bank of the river Sarayu.

After this comes the third pair of the Andha and the Srona, who too were led to safety like the first pair, and perhaps even beyond a river. The adjective *jahita* is significant; left to themselves they could not cross it, one because he could not see and the other because he could not walk. It is important to note that Indra is not said to have cured their defect, but is only praised for helping them to a place of safety, to their destination. This is why they are brought to the poet's mind immediately after the pair of Turvasa and Yadu. It may therefore, be quite legitimate to assume that we have here a reference to the blind and the lame persons walking beyond a river through a good ford *by means of mutual aid*, under the guidance of Indra. This brings us to the well known Andha Pangu Nyaya employed by the Samkhyas to illustrate the mutual aid of their Purusa and Prakrti, in respect of their respective goals.

Yet at RV.2.13.12 Indra who is said to deserve an Uktha, is credited with an exploit of *raising up* Paravrj who had been *lying low*, at the same time making the *andha* and the *srona* very famous. On the other hand, at 1.30.16 we are told about this same Paravrj that Indra gave him a share in his own hymns (the sense of *pra sravayan* in 2.13.12 being conveyed by *ukthesu abhajahin* 4.30.16). This would show that it would be right to infer that the adjectives *andha* and *srona* in 2.13.12 are used with reference to Paravrj himself. Further these same adjectives are employed just in the vicinity of the word Paravrj at 1. 12.8 where too they naturally become construed with Paravrj. In this latter passage the nature of the favour shown

to Paravrj is made clear by saying that he was made to see though he was blind and enabled to walk though he was maimed. The exploit itself however, is here ascribed to the Asvina and not to Indra; but we shall revert to this point later. Thus this triple equation indicate that *nica santam ud anayah* in 2.13.12 involves the gift of the sight and the ability to walk and further, that the word *sanu nayah* in 1.112.19 may even be similarly supposed to be a complicated affair consisting of a cure of the physical defects of the eye and the legs, accompanied by the additional favour of right guidance to place of safety.

That the adjectives *andha* and *srona* are to be construed with Paravrj a 1.112.8 and 2.13.12 is further shown by two other passages namely 2.15.7 and 4.19.9. Thus at 2.15.1 we learn :

“That Indra knew the concealment of the maidens. (By his favour then) Paravrj manifested himself and stood up. The maimed one stood up to great; the eyeless one clearly saw (the world around him). Indra made all these things in the wilf delight of Soma.’

So in 4.19.9:

‘You brought out the son of the maiden who was being eaten by the ants from their resting place (e.e. the ant-hill). The blind boy clearly saw (the world around him); catching hold of a serpent he came out completely, after breaking the pot (in which he was put and buried in the ant-hill. All his limbs became whole.’

These four passages, three from the Indra hymns (2.13.12; 1.15.7 and) and one from the Asvina hymn (1.112.8) read together, ought to leave no doubt that in them at least. *andha* and *srona* are intended to be adjectives of one and the same person, namely Paravrj, the abandoned son of an unmarried girl.

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There are two other passages, 8.79.2 and 10.25.11, where we get the two words *andha* and *srona* occurring together. At 8.79.2 the poet says about Soma:

‘He fully clothes what is naked; he cures everything that is suffering. The blind has clearly seen; the maimed has completely come out’.

Here the second half is intended to give particular illustrations of the general statement made in the first, for *nir srona bhut* cf. *nir bhut* in 4.19.9c. Similarly at 10.25.11 cd we are told about the same deity (i.e. Soma):

‘He is better when compared with their seven; he has led the *andha* and the *srona* to prosperity’.

Here ‘leading to prosperity (*prataranam*) must be understood in the light of the above passage, 8.79.2. Naturally in both these passages *andha* and *srona* do not refer to any particular individual. There are two more passages, both in the Asvinahymns, where we get a reference to their cure of a *srama* (i.e. a maimed person) and of an *andha*, but separately: Tus in 1.117.19 ab:

‘Great is your favour, O Asvina, which is the source of happiness; and you very well send forth whole, O Dhisnyas, even the maimed person.’

Srma is the same as *srona* and *sam rinathah* is the equivalent of the words *nir bhut* and *sam aranta parvat* 4.19.9. *sam-ri* in the sense of ‘heal and urge forth’ is used in the same hymn (1.117) also of Rebha in v. 4 and of Vispala in v. 11. Similarly in 10.39.3cd we have:

‘They describe you along as the healers (physicians) of even the blind, O Nasatyas, of even the lean and of even the injured person’.

Animal Sacrifice

In Vedic India, animal sacrifice, *pasuyajna*, had various forms. As *pasubandha*, where the animal to be immolated is tied to a sacrificial stake, it is included in much greter and complex rituals. It is also, a sacrifice in its own right listed both among *pakayajna* and among *haviryajna*. The great rituals which include various rites, among which is *pasubandha*, are themselves often centred around a greater victim which sometimes is immolated in a manner peculiar to it alone. These are, for instance, the sacrifice of horse (*asvamedha*) the human sacrifice (*pasusamedha*) and that of ox (*gasava*). Although the principal victim of each of the great rituals is one, the number of secondary victims in a related *pasuyajna* is often great and varies in accordance with the nature of the sacrifice. Thus in *asvamedha* eleven victims are offered to Soma, seventeen to Prajapati besides other types of animals which must be symbolically offered "to render the sacrifice complete".

Now, that principally interests us in this context, is to see what effects heat has on the victim. In order to be as clear as possible in our exposition, we shall take *pasubandha* mainly as it appears in one single sacrificial complex. We choose, therefore, as our guiding sacrifice the pressing of Soma, since it is the one in which animal sacrifice of secondary victim is given greater evidence by the texts. There is, in fact, a *pasubandha* included in the group of seven sacrifices of the *havis*, which is different in some of its rites from that found in the whole Soma sacrificial complex, but definitely less important than it. This can be inferred from the way the two are treated in the various Brahmanas. For instance, the Satapatha dedicates to the animal sacrifice of the Soma sacrificial complex all of Kanda III, while to the animal sacrifice as an independent rite only a couple of short Adhyayas (XI. 7 & 8). The Rgvedic Brahmanas speak of the ceremonies related to the animal sacrifice only in connection

with the Song Sacrifice. Occasionally, we shall refer to the animal sacrifice which accompanies *asvamedha*, while we shall treat only in passing, the ritual handling and immolation of the more important victim, i.e. the horse.

In our description of the role played by fire, we shall have occasion to note the function of ritual heat that was responsible for that peculiar Brahmanic deviation from the modification of the more common and more diffused way of considering the interpreting sacrifice.

In *pasuyajna*, fire, the subject of our study, appears for the first time when, after various preliminary rites which do not concern us directly one of the priests, the *hotr*, recites, on the invitation of the *adhvaryu*, the hymns concerning the circumambulation of Fire (*paryagni*). The rite is performed by the *agniddhra* while the victim is still alive. He takes a firebrand from the sacrificial fire *adhavaniya*, and moves it round the victim as if to protect it by a continuous and uninterupted line of heat. This ceremony existed already at the time of the Rgveda evn if in a somewhat different form. It was performed for the benefit of the house, the principal victim of *asvamedha*, and for the one goat which had to accompany it as a secondary animal victim. But in the Rgveda the circumambulation (*paryasvam*) was performed by the horse around the fire altar and not the other way about. Its meaning was therefore also probably different. At that time Agni was still an important Deity superior to anything in the entire complex of the sacrificial system. The victim which is despatched to him, or which is despatched by him to other waiting Deities, goes around the fire in its fireplace to render him homage. In the Brahmanas, on the contrary, it is the fire which goes around the victim. The explanation which the exegete feels bound to give—probably to justify this change in the ritual—has recourse to the idea of ‘protection’: the uninterupted line of fire serves to raise a barrier of heat against the malignant spirits (*raśases*) of whom Agni is the destroyer

per antonomasia from very ancient times. The same protection is extended to the place where the victim will be cooked—another very important and therefore vulnerable point. The Rgvedic Braamanas which deal with the same problem insist on this idea of ‘protection’ and to support it refer to the constant war raging between the Devas and the Asuras. The circumambulation which is three fold, as threefold too was the horse’s walk around the fire, builds around the victim a triple citadel of defence which the Devas built around their sacrifice when they saw their enemies advancing with hostile intentions. The same gesture is therefore re-enacted by the earthly sacrificers to defend their own rite and themselves.

Anusthu and Anusth(u) ya

The basic meanings ascribed to the adverbs *anusthu* and *anusth(u)ya* dictionaries, handbooks and translations are : (a) “immediately”, (b) “in (proper) order”; (c) “properly, duly”. Most scholars seem to derive (c) from (b). More or less outside the generally accepted interpretations lies Minard’s translation of SB . 3,2, 2,5...*anusthyastam ito bhavati* “le soleil vient de se coucher (*Subordination*, \$402).

Before discussing the text-places and the secondary literature on these terms, it may be useful first to give a survey of (some) interpretations proposed hitherto. The diversity of meanings and the lack of consistency in the translations are a justification for the present study.

- (a) PD : “unmittelbar, alsbald” (mentioned after “debeistehend” as rendering of *anusthu*); (s.v. *anusthya*) “dabeistehend, unmittelbar” (“mit eigenen Augen” in perception); “sofort” (mentioned together with “nach einander”) M-W. “immediately, presently”. Grassmann: “sogleich” (starting from the adj. “aufdem Fusse folgend”). Apte. (i.a.) “immediately” (after “in proper order, duly” and besides “immediate, direct”). Wackernagel, AiGr,

(passim): “sogleich”; “sofort” (KZ. 61, p.203: “debeistehend, sofort:). Renou, Gr. *ved.*, 22, n 1: “desuite”; Gr. *sanscr.*, 120: “Linstrumental sing., marquant desrapports laches de...instanteite ...” (i.e. *anusthya* in JUB). Burrow, *Sanskrit*, p. 278: “at once”. In translations one finds “at once” (Gonda, *Savayajnas*, p. 373; Whitney: AS’ Oretel : JUB.) “immediately” (Keith : AB;; Oertel: JUB.), “forthwith” (Keith: TS; Eggeling: SB.), “sofort” (caland: JB. *Auswahl*) and “sogleich” (Mylius: AsvSS.).

Apparently “immediately” is regarded as “following without interruption” or “standing by”. PD’s “unmitteblbar” in connection with perception seems to be associated with the connotation “to be present with something” (cf. *anu-bhu-*).

(b) PD. : (i.a.) “nach einander” (after “sofort”). Neisser: “in richtiger Folge”. Apte : “in proper order” (as well as “duly ... properly”). See further translations by Renou (EVP. 12, p.25): “dans la sequence etablite”: Eggeling(SB): “in its the proper order”; Keith (AB.): “in order”; Haug (AB): “successively” and Caland (SSS): “one after another”.

The basic meaning assumed here is ‘following, in succession’, sometimes with the implication of a correct order.

(c) Apte. “duly” (after “in proper order”); “properly” (after “immediately”). See also translations by Geldner (RS.): “richtig” (Sayana: *susthu*) and “ordnungsgemass”, Renou (EVP. 13 p.8): “Selon la convenance” (following Geldner?), Eggeling (Sb.): “properly” and “in due form” and Minard (*Subordination*, 263, and 271): “correctement”. Are we to place under the same heading the translations “actually” (Keith:AB; Eggeling SB.) and “thoroughly” (Bloomfield: AS.)?

Some authors connect the notion of correctness with right order. Others do not seem to have any association with correct succession in mind. There are no explicit indications that any of the above mentioned scholars did make a conscious

connection with *anu* '(being) in accordance with'.

The meaning "properly" or "in proper order" occurs ever since Eggeling's translation of SB. The old translation "at once", however, did not disappear. The divergence of meanings found in translations of similar contexts seem to be due to the fact that some translators follow the tradition (PD; Wackernagel), whereas others either make their own interpretation of the root *anu-stha-* (from which they derive *asnusthu*), or give an *ad hoc* translation, which only makes sense in one or two contexts.

Concerning the formation of the adverbs under discussion the following may be observed. Wackernagel's first analysis of *anusthya* (AiGr. I, p.50 and 82) was later corrected in the *Nachtrage* (p.38). For *anusthu anusthuya* and *anusthya* compare *mithu mithuya*, *mithya* and *sadhu*, *sadhuya*, *sadhya*. So the analysis of *anusthya* as found in M.-W.'s dictionary has no foundation. The term *anusthu*, though always undeclined and used as an adverb, may be based on an adjective. The parallel formation *apasthu-* (post-Vedic) sometimes seems to have been used as an adjective. On the wrong assumption of an adjective *susthu-* in RS. The *-u-* formations derived from roots in *-a-* that "allen diesen Bildungen partizipale Bedeutung innewohnt". The adverbial use of *anusthu* and the other *-sthu-* formations, however, seems to be an indication that these words were primarily adjectives, rather than some sort of semi-participles (such as the desideratives *pipasu-* etc.). So *anusthu-* and *apasthu-* are not merely derivations from the compound verbs *anustha-* and *apastha-*, but have a second element *-sthu-* which produces a declinable verbal prefix or preposition. In the same way the undeclinable forms *su* and *duh* are made adjectives or adverbs by the addition of *-sthu-*.

The basic meaning of *anustu-* (*anu-st(h) H-u-*) as an adjective is therefore something like "standing or being *anu*, having a status that is *anu*",; i.e. the main importance lies with *anu*

and (one or more of) its various meanings. In the case of *susthu* the adverbial meaning is hardly different from *su*, which supports our assumption that *-sthu-* has a rather vague meaning, *fan* has to be valued primarily according to its function. In the case of *anusthu* (adv.) the situation is more difficult than with *susthu*. The meaning of *anu* has more variations than that of *su*. Moreover the adverb *anusthu* cannot be equated with a more or less synonymous adverb *anu* (as in the case of *susthu* and *su*), since the adverbial use of *anu* is debatable. See Renou, *EVP*, 2, p. 116, n. 2 on the unreliable Rgvedic evidence adduced by Grassmann.

The adverb *anusthu* denotes "in a way as indicated by the verbal prefix or preposition *anu*". In the adverbial use of *anusthu* the relations with the root *stha-* almost fade away.

Besides the adverb *anusthu* another adverbialization of the (hypothetic) adjective *anusthu-* is made by the addition of *-ya* See Wackernagel, *AiGr.* III, p. 75ff. with literature on the origin of this adverbial formation. Renou, *Gr. sanscr.*, §120 a interprets the instr. *-uya* as analogical to the one in *-aya-* Both formations are also found in the Avesta. Perhaps one had better follow Burrow's conclusion (*Sanskrit.* p. 282): "A satisfactory explanation to account for both types is difficult to find".

Parallel forms, as mentioned above, are *susthu* and *duhsthu*, the interpretation of which hardly forms a problem.

For *susthu-* see PD.: "gut, schon, we es sich gehort"; Grassmann: "in gutem Zustande befindlich" (in der spateren Sprache nur Adverb = *su*"); M.-W.: "aptly, fitly, duly, well, excellently; exceedingly" (*susthu khalu* "most certainly"; *susthutaram* "still more, in a higher degree" in Jatakas); Cappeller. "gut, schon, ordentlich, richtig: ("mit *tavat* `nun wohl, wohlan"); Wackernagel, *AiGr.* II, 2, p. 272: "in gutem Zustand befindlich"; Renou, *Gr. ved.* § 22, n.1: "en bon etat".

Mostly, *susthu* is an adverb. All translations which try to preserve a link with the root *stha-* (“Zustand”, “etat”) are etymological rather than functional in a context. Grassmann and Renou, *Gr. ved.* § 22, n. 1 (“*sustha* est adjective dans la RS.”) assume an adjectival *susthu-* In RS., where it occurs only once (8, 22, 18). Renou, *Gr. sancr.*, p. 332 hesitates with regard to the adjectival use in the Puranas. For *sasthu* as an interjection see Burrow, *Sanskrit*, p. 283 (“good, excellent”). Grassmann’s interpretation of the sole Rgvedic evidence has unduly influenced the translations of dictionaries and handbooks. There is no reason why *susthu* in the mentioned place of RS. should not be taken with Geldner as “sehr”, i.e. as an adverbs qualifying the adjective *varyam* (in spite of Renou’s remark, EVP. 16, p. 61: “*varya* est presque toujours substantif, du moins aux cas directs”). For this use of *susthu* (having the same function as the prefix *su-*) one may compare later texts like Lalitavistara 21.323 *yadi necchasi kamasulalasikam susthu suvancitaka is (susthu* “very much” being used rather pleonastically in that context). In the compound *susthu-vah-* (RS. 10, 107, 11) *susthu-* likewise has the same function as the prefix *su-*, here with the meaning “well”. So one has to prefer Geldner’s “gutziehende” to Grassmann’s “Guets fahrend”.

The formation in *-sthu-* is not a participle-like adjective based on the compound verb *stha-*. In that case there would have been a much greater number of these compounds, formed from several prefixes with the root *stha-*. As was observed above, it is a formation with a more or less suffix-like element *-sthu-* which makes a nominal form from an undeclinable one (on the basis of the meaning “standing, being”). Therefore, the formation is restricted to the terms *susthu* versus *du(h)sthu* and *anusthu* (in some cases at least) versus *apasthu*. If our assumption of two antithetical couples is correct—it should be noted that the negative counterparts *dusthu* and *apasthu* are both apparently later forms—, then Sayana’s awareness of the parallelism of *anusthu* and

susthu may be interesting. See his commentary on *anusthu* in RS. 1, 95, 3: *samyaksabdasamanartham susthu iti*.

It will be clear that Renou's view that *vanisthu-* ("a part of the entrails of an animal offered in sacrifices") should belong to the same category of terms (*BSL*.41, p. 23), is completely unfounded. It is not supported by Mayrhofer's etymological dictionary.

Reverting to *susthu*, I may draw attention to the following evidence from ancient texts: Khilini 5, 7, 4, 16 *susthu suviryam* ("very much"); BharSS. 10,6,4 *yathasusthu* ("in the propermanner", tr. Kashikar) (cf. HirSS. 7, 1, 53); Nirukta 14, 32 *susthugandhi* (cf. RS *susthwah-*) explaining *sugardhi*). Together with *dusthu* it is found in the Ganapatha. The fact that (besides *susthura*) its corresponding noun is *sausthava-* illustrates the independence from the root *stha-* and the fixation of *sthu-* as some sort of suffix. Unadi Sutra 1, 25 to which commentaries on *anustu* sometimes refer, deals with *apa-*, *duh-* and *susthu*..

With relation to *du(h)sthu* even less evidence is found in the texts. According to the Scholiast on Un, S.1, 25 it should mean "ill-behaved" (adj.). M.-W interpret the adverbial *dusthu* of the Ganapatha as "badly", and (like other dictionaries) does not refer to textual evidence. An interesting instance of *dusthu* with a finite verb form, in which the term under discussion might have the function of a verbal prefix ("mix-"), is found in the Budhaacara: *atra ca tvanyesyami yatra ma dusthu manyase* (4, 84) "... and I shall satisfy you on the points wherein you misjudge me" (tr. Johnston). On the other hand, the context admits also a translation "to think badly of, to criticize" for *dusthu man-*. See Weller's rendering of the Tibetan version and PD. on the adverb *dusthu* ("einen Tadel bezeichnend").

The form *apasthu*, which is likewise missing in Vedic literature, and is mentioned in Un.S. 1, 25, has an irregular cerebralization,

which may be due to *susthu* (Renou, *Gr. sanscr.*, p. 16), or perhaps rather to *anusthu*. Its basic meaning as given by the dictionaries, which base themselves on the lexicographers. is "entegegengesetzt" (PD), "contrary, apposite, perverse" (M.-W.) as an adj. As an adverb, meaning "perversely, badly" (PD.: "in verkehtter Weise falsch") it occurs *Sisupalavadha* 15, 17 : *tava dharmaraja its nama katham idam apasthu pathyate* (comment : *apasthu* = *asatyam*).

In connection with *anustu*, the adverbial meaning of *apasthu* primarily interest us. According to the hypothesis proposed above it should mean "in a way which is *apa*", and it might in some cases, when qualifying the finite verb form, have the function of a verbal prefix.

On *apa* Delbruck's information (*Syntax*, p. 446f.) is scarce and not useful for our purpose. Here the prefix *apa* should be examined in its relation to *anu* as contrasting. The modification looked for is not a literal movement, but a metaphorical one: aberration (*apa*) versus conformation (*anu*). See also Renou, *Gr. sanscr.*, p. 140 on *apa* (and p. 94f. on nominal compounds such as *apapatha*- "mauvaise lecture"). The negative or pejorative aspect of *apa*- is obvious in compounds as *apa-kr*-, *apa-car*-, *apanaya*-, *apa-puta*-, *apa-prajata*-, *apa-vedha*-, *apa-bahuka*-, *apa-yasas*-, *aparadh*-, *aparupa*-, *apa-rtu*-, *apa-vina*-, *apa-vritta*-, *apa-vedha*-, *apa-vyahr*-, *apa-sakuna*-, *apa-sabda*-, *apa-siddhanta*-, *apa-sphiga*-, *apa-svara*-, *apahala*-, *apa-hasita*-.

For the interpretation of *anusthu* it may be important to note that *apasthu* does not have a corresponding very *apatisthati*. So in the case of *anusthu* one should not primarily make a connection with *anutisthati* and base the interpretation of *anusthu* on the meaning of the compound verb. Just like *apasthu* (i.e. in a way which is contrary to the norm; cf. the quoted compounds), the adverb *anustu* denotes 'in a way which is conforming to a norm, which expresses a following, etc.'. The lexicographers seem to mention some meanings of

apasthu (according to the dictionaries) which are not in agreement with the basic notion 'deviating from the norm, against, opposite, reverse, wrong'. Probably we are concerned here with ministerpretations. One of the 'opposite' or 'reverse' concepts expressed by *apa-sthu* is 'left'. The Sanskrit equivalent *vama-* does not only mean 'opposite', but also 'handsome'.

In our approach the interpretation of *anu-*, rather than its connection with the root *stha-*, is of fundamental importance. The basic meaning of *anu-* as a prefix and a separable preposition is the concept of following, going after or along. In the temporal aspect this means 'after', in the local aspect 'after, behind'. In connection with verbs which express a movement it may denote "after, towards", "along, from beginning to end" (extension) or "further and further" (penetration). The last two connotations may be freely translated by "completely" "thoroughly". Sometimes the verb with which *anu-* is compounded does not express a movement itself. According to Minard, *Trois Enigmes* II, 163 a this *anu-* makes the verb transitive. It also means "following, in the way of, after", not only with the implication of following an example, carrying out an order, but also of being in a ccordance with, agreeing with. As a preposition is often means "entsprechend" (Delbruck, *Syntax*, p. 445). Renou. *Gr. ved.*, 377 aptly summarizes the meaning of *anu* "apres" as "ce qui fait suite, ce qui accompagne,s' approche, se confrome".

In the preceding section I have tried to demonstrate the netagive and pejorative aspect of *apa* have considered the possibility of an antithesis between *anusthu* and *apasthu* (just as between *susthu* and *dusthu*) which (at least partly) might explain the meaning of *anusthu*. If now one should try to draw up a list of positive *anu-* compounds comparable (or even corresponding) to the negative *apa-* compounds, this

would turn out to be rather difficult. In compounds such as *anukathana* "orderly narration" (M.-W.) the aspect of order and succession may be more essential than correctness as such. Those compounds which only refer to the systematic performance (succession, no omissions) of an action right or wrong regardless the aim and outcome, are perhaps not the real counterparts of the *apa*- formations. In the case of *anukathana*, however, the *kathana* may also be in accordance with (*anu*) the standard of a good story or description or in agreement with the subject-matter: a proper description, a true story, a correct report. Cf. *anubimba*- "a *bimba* which is *anu*" and *anuguna*- "that of which the *guna*- is *anu*".

It is to be noted that there is a fundamental difference between *anu* and *apa* in that the latter is not used as a separable preposition. Several *anu*- compounds have to be interpreted as a prepositional relation between *anu*- and term within the compound (*anu-rupa*-, i.e. *anu rupam san*, is not to be compared to *aparupa*-) or outside the compound (which may be expressed or not; e.g. *anu-man*- means "to think in accordance with, to consent", often without explicit reference to the person or design with which one agrees). Most of the nominal compounds with *apa*- therefore have no corresponding counterparts with *anu*-.

Moreover, begative compounds with *apa*-, being a reaction to something positive (a particular verbal root or noun), need not have explicitly expressed (i.e. with *anu*- positive counterparts. Without the pejorative prefix *apa*- these terms are positive themselves. Still there are some *anu*- compounds with a definitely positive connotation.

Arjikas

The Arjikas of Rgveda (9-65-22 and 23; 8-53-11; 9-113 I and 2) were a people different from the Pancajanas. Soma juice was expressed in the houses of the Arjikas as well as of the Pancajanas. The district inhabited by the Arjikas was known

after them as Arjiya. In that district was a lake named Saryanavan; and, through the district, flowed a river of which the name or rather, the description was Susoma as Soma was grown on its banks. A river Arjikiya (10-35-2), of which the connection with the rivers, and the lake was close, as the horse's head of the legend of Dadhyac, cast in the hills was recovered from the lake (1-84-14).

The Purus who were among the Pancajanas were the people who lived and expressed Soma juice with the Arjikas, in the Arjikiya district. The Purus dwelt on the banks of the banks of the river Sarasvati (7-96-2) ; and, for the propitiation of that river, laudatory hymns sung by the Bhrgus were so efficacious that the Vasistas aspired to imitate them (7-96-3). The legendary progenitor of the Bhrgus was Rcika, an elder brother of Manu, and son of Vivasvan. (Mahabharata, Adi parvan, Anukramanika 1-42). Therefore the Bhrgus were Arcikas.

The name Sarasvati does not occur in the hymns in which the name Ajika or its derivatives occur. But the river was named Sarasvati in a later period. Its earlier name Virapani (1-104-4; 6-49-7), a Sanskrit word, was a description rather than name of the river which must have been known by some other name before the arrival of Sanskrit speakers. Before it was named by them as Virapatni it might have been the Susma or the Arjika.

The district in which the Purus resided received the name Kuruksetra, during or after the reign of their King Kurusravana who was a descendant of King Trasadasyu. Trasadasyu was on or a descendant of Giriksita whose title as King of the Purus was Purukutsa and who was King of the Purus after the Dasarajna was and was a cotemporary of King Sudas of the Bharatas. According to Mahabharata (Vana Parvan 4-83), Kuruksetra was between the rivers Sarasvati and Drsadvati (Ghaggar). A lake (Vana Parvan 125-11) near Kuruksetra was known as the lake of Cyavana (who was a

descendant of Rcika) and a hill near the lake was called the Arcika Parvata, or the hill of Rcika (Vana Parvan 125-16).

The Arcika Parvata and the lake of Cyavana were thus the same as the hill and, the Saryanavan lake of Rgveda. The Arjikas expressed Soma juice where the Bhagus (the Arcikas) sang laudatory hymns to propitiate the river goddess Sarasvati. According to some Sansrit grammarians, the sound of the consonant c in Rcika would soften to j in the formation of its derivative, and so Arjika would be a derivative from Rcika; but many do not agree on this point. But, a possibility which cannot be denied is that of Rjika being a variant of Rcika, or of Rjika being the Vedic form of the original name which being a Dravidian word would have been Rcika because the soft sound of j did not exist in the Dravidian languages.

The absence of a rule to explain the change of c to j cannot negative the possibility of the change, when there is evidence to support the inference that the Arjikas and the Arcikas were the same.

The Arjikas of Rgveda were therefore the Bhruge.

Arsheya Brahmana

This Brahmana has been published by Samsrami (Calcutta) in Devanagri with the commentary of Sayana. It has also been published by Burnell (Manglore) with extracts from Sayana's commentary, all in Roman characters. The Brahmana, as its name indicates gives the Rishis of Samasongs. But these Rishis are different from those given in the printed additions of Samaveda. Thus the first verse अग्न आ याहि वीतये &c is attributed to Bharadvaja in the printed books. In this Brahmana, in the original and in Sayana's Bhashya, it is attributed to Gautama Parks in the first and third Samans and to Kasyapa Barhisha in the second or middle Saman. It must be remembered that Saman here is different from the verse itself; for three Samans or chants are said to arise from

three parts of the verse on portions taken at different times. Whence Sayana gives this information is not indicated : but he gives the original verse on which the three chants arise. But for this Brahmana, it would have been impossible for us to know who were the first Rishis who chanted the three Samans that arise. A great deal of technical study is necessary to understand this subject clearly and it is impossible for us to enter into further details. It may be added that the verse अग्न आ याहि वीतये &c belongs originally to the Rigveda and its Rishi there (VI, 1610) is Bharadvaja himself as in the printed Samaveda.

It is difficult to be termine the date of this Brahmana. The word Smarta which appears in the first or introductory Khanda "defines its real position" according to Burnell. But it seems that Burnell has misunderstood the word. Its meaning is not the modern derived one. As explained by Sayana, the word is used in its root sense, viz., "helping the memory" and from the context also this meaning is the only one possible ऋषीणां नामधेयगोत्रापधारणं स्वर्ग्यं यशस्यं धन्यं पुण्यं पुण्यं शब्दं ब्रह्मवर्चस्यं स्मार्तमायुन्यं & c). So far as we have looked through this Brahmana, there is no indication of its date. The order in which the Rishis are given follows Gramagana and Aranyagana of the Purvarchika, according to Burnell; but when these Ganas arose, there is no ground to decide. The Samans must have been taught orally, for two thousand years at least, before they were written. And it is impossible to say what notation was first adopted to show the notes and the methods. Burnell says in his introduction (p. xxi) that formerly letters indicating notes were written between the letters of the versess is in the notation of the music of the ancient Greeks, but that later the letters were substituted by numerals in the south. The figures 1, 2, 3, in the eprinted editions, given above the letters of the verses, indicate not notes but only the stress accents, Udatta, Svarita, and Anudatta as stated already. it is interesting to note that these accents are not always the same as those in the Rigvedic verse. Thus the first verse in Samveda is written as अग्न आ

याहि वीतये गृणानो हव्यदातये। नि होता सत्सि बर्हिषि॥ (VI, 16,10) in the Rigveda. It is written in the Samaveda with figures as follows: अग्न आ याहि वीतये गृणानो हव्यदातये। नि होता सत्सि बर्हिषि।

In the Saman way of writing and probably reciting also, the verse thus differs from the Rigveda. In Sama-singing it would be still more different with its divisions into Prastava, Udgitha etc. When the different Ganas arose in Sama—singing the notes were, in oral teaching, shown by touching the different fingers of the right hand. The first written instructions appear in Narada Sikshi and then Gautami and Manduki Sikshas (Burnell Intro. p. XX). The age of these ganas cannot be determined, but they may be taken to be earlier than Panini (*ibid*). Burnell thinks that this Brahmana is later than Gramageyagana in its present form but assigns no date the latter. There are, however, the following indications to show that it is later than the Tandya Brahmana.

Sama-singing seems to have advanced further by its time and become more complicated than in the Tandya. Several Samans are sung from the same verse which, so far as we can see, was not the case at the time of the Tandya. Different Rishis are mentioned therein as having seen particular Samans which were then named after them. This does not signify that there were more than one mode of singing that Saman. The names of the authors of these various Samans given in this Arsheya Brahmana being different from those given in the Samaveda books lead to the same conclusion. The names strike us often as imaginary. Thus in the very beginning Om is itself treated as a Saman seen by Parameshthin, son of Prajapati or by Brahman itself and Himkara is said to have been seen by Vaishtha or by Prajapati or by cows. The sound Hum no doubt resembles that of the cow when it calls for the calf; and the Rishis, being in constant touch with cows, borrowed that pleasing call. (It is, however, always called Himkara though it is really Humkara). The Brahmana again quoted in

the first Khanda about the necessity of reciting the Rishi, the Devata and the Chhandas of the mantra is well-known and shows that this Brahmana is later than the principal Brahmanas, in other words, is later than 2000 B.C.

The first Khanda states that the person who studies this Brahmana becomes *Sasthana* with Rishis, a new word used instead of the usual *Saloka* and it further adds that he is born with the memory of his past lives (स्मरन्नाजायते पुनः।). These ideas also show that this Brahmana is later than the other Brahmanas and the principal Upanishads also. But Burnell thinks that this introductory Khanda itself is later addition which is possible. The first Saman noticed is the well-known Gayatri and its Rishi, i.e. the author of the singing of the verse, in *puskhkala* and its deity is Agni and not Visamitra and Surya as in the original Rigveda.

The Brahmana is divided into three Prapathakas subdivided into 82 Khandas (28, 25, 29) which consist usually of single but lone sentences. The first part is in the Sutra style: but the second part or index to the Aranyagana is less artificial (p. VIII Intro., Burnell). Who the author is of this Brahmana has not been stated and is not known from any source. Sayana, in beginning his Bhashya, merely says, "There are eight Brahmanas of the Samaveda 1 Prautha, 2 Shadvimsa, 3 Samavidhi, 4 Arsheya, 5 Devatadhyaya, 6 Mantra, 7 Samhitopanishad and 8 Vamsa and that having commented on the first three, he proceeds to comment on the fourth."

Among the Brahmanas of the Samaveda belong to the Kauthuma school, the Arseya Brahmana stands fourth in the list and is understood, as the title indicates, to deal with the rsis of the Saman chants. But, in practice, it does not speak of rsis of the Samaganas so much nor does it give an exhaustive and authentic list of the rsi-singers either. It only presents us with an authentic record of the names of ganas with their known alternatives. However, the names of chants, are often suggestive of the names of the rsis who composed

them. On this account, the name Arseya Brahmana is, to some extent, justified meaning a book that is connected with or related to the rsis (of saman chants). Among the four kinds of known verse-chants of Samaveda, the Arseya is concerned with only the first two viz., Gramageya and Aranyaka, both of which together cover the whole of Purvarcika including the Mahanamnyarcika of the Sama-samhita. This Brahmana, however, leaves out from its purview the Uha and uhya or Rahasya which are entirely based on the Uttararcika.

The names of the verse-chants are mostly derivatives. Yet there are names which are significantly meaningful. These names of ganas can be divided into following five categories on the basis of the factors according to which they were named :

1. The names derived from the name of the rsi who composed the verse-chants e.g., *saindhuksta*, *Aushana*, etc.
2. The names derived from the phrase, initial or other wise, of a verse on which the chant was elaborated; e.g. *Vishovishiya Yajnayajniya* etc.
3. The names derived from the nidhana, the concluding part of the chant, e.g., *Sutam-rayasthiya*, *Davasunidhana* etc.
4. The names indicative of the object or purpose for which they are chanted; e.g., *Samvarga*, *Raksoghna* etc.
5. The names, which are neither derivatives nor do they indicate the object or purpose for which they are employed in rituals; e.g., *Vinka*, *Nika* etc.

Among these the names belong to the first category expressly indicate the names of the rsis who composed those chants. But this is not the case with the names that belong to the other four categories. The Brahmana, therefore, in these instances often mentions also the names of the rsis along with

the names of the Ganas *e.g.* अग्नेर्वश्वानरसस्य यज्ञज्ञयज्ञीयम् (1.5.1); प्रजापतेः सुतंरयिष्ठीये (II.4.7); अग्नेर्वश्वानरसस्य राक्षोध्नमत्रेवं (1.9.8); वसिष्ठस्य वीङ्कम् (1.7.3) etc. It may be pointed out in this connection that sometimes a rsi of a gana, is named after the gana he composed even as a gana is named after the rsi who composed it. This is, of course, a reverse process. But in these instances the rsis, in a way, acquire their second name, rather a nickname, on the basis of the nidhanas of the verse-chants they had composed. This second name often has thrown their real name into oblivion but the Brahman always takes care to mention the clan which they belonged to along with the acquired names, *e.g.*, the rsi of the chant Davasunidhana is known as Davasu and likewise the rsi of Havismata as Havisman after the nidhanas of दावसू २३४५ and हविष्मते २३४५ respectively but the rsis of these ganas are expressly said to belong to the Angirasa clan.

The Arseya Brahmana is composed in the sutr-form—a characteristic feature of the later Brahmanas of the Samaveda. it is widely recognised, that these Brahmanas of the Kauthuma recension belong to the latest period of the Vedic literature. The very style and structure of the language of these texts which lack archaism in any form, either in its vocabulary or in its grammar, speaks for itself of their later origin. Among the Brahmanas of this recension only the Tandya and Sadvimsha have, to some extent, preserved a few archaic forms and usages and they are, it may be said, comparatively old.

Arya

Now we are to discuss whether the word *arya* in *RV* refers to a race, people or otherwise. In the *RV* the word *arya* with its many declensional forms occurs 36 times—13 times with *dasa*, 9 times with *dasyu* 13 times independently and 2 times with *dasih* (in *RV*.I: 103.3 along with *dasyu*). In *RV* V.34.5 Arya is referred to as leading the Dasa at his will.

Venkatamadhava and Sayan take *arya* here to mean *svami*. Here according to them *arya* is an attribute of Indra. In *RV*. X.86.19 Indra is mentioned as going everywhere distinguishing the *Dasa* and the *Arya*. In *RV* X.138.2 *Sruya* is said to have unyoked his chariot in the mid-way of heaven when Indra, the *Arya*, found himself a match of *Dasa*. Griffith finds here a reference to a detention of the Sun to enable the Aryan to complete the overthrow of their enemies. (In passages referred to above *Arya* and *Dasa* are depicted as opposite ones, and the former is described as winning over the latter).

In 9 passages of the *RV* *Arya* and *Dasyu* have been mentioned together. In *RV* I. 51.8 Indra is requested to discern *Aryas* and *Dasyus* and made the latter surrender to the former. Here Skandasvamin takes *aryan* to mean *dasyavah* as those who do not perform the sacrifices. Sayana interprets *aryan* as 'Wise ones; the performers of sacrifices' and *dasyavah* as 'hinderers of sacrificers'. in *RV*.I.103.3 there is a reference to shattering of the forts of *Dasas* by Indra. Indra is prayed for casting his dart at the *Dasyu* and increasing the *Aryas'* might and glory. Skandasvamin takes *dasyu* to mean *anarya* i.e., 'who is not an *Arya*'. This according to Skandasvamin *Anarya* is opposite to *Arya*, though this word nowhere occurs in the *RV*. Sayana, here too, takes *aryah* to mean 'wise ones', the eulogisers'.

In *RV* II.11.19 there is a reference to the *Arya* subduing the *Dasyus*. Here *Sayana* understands *aryena* to mean *aryabhavena*. In *RV* III.34.9 there is an explicit mention of *arya varna*. Indra is said to have protected the *Arya Varna* after having smitten the *Dasyus*. How did Indra protect the *Arya Varna* having smitten the *Dasyus*? The seer says, Indra gained possession of the horses, the sun, the cows the feeder of many, the gold and all the enjoyments and giving these to *Arya* protected the *Arya Varna*. Venkatamadhava and Sayana take *arya varna* to mean 'the noblest order,' 'the first three *varnas*'. The association of the word *varna* with both *Arya*

and Dasa seems to refer to two classes of people distinct from each other, on the basis of colour or deeds performed by them. Griffith in the footnote explains *arya varna* as 'Race of Aryas'. In *RV* VI.18.3 Indra is said to explain *arya varna* as 'Race of Aryas'. In *RV* VI.25.2 there is a reference to *dasih visah* who are said to have been subdued by Indra to the Arya. In *RV* X.49.3 Indra is said not to have given up *Arya nama* to Dasyu. Udgitha takes *aryam nama* to mean the 'name of Indra, the ruler of all the three regions. Venkatamadhava and Sayana take it to mean 'the water which is for Aryas'. Indra never gives the water to Dasyu, which is for Aryas, Sayana, optionally, also takes it to mean the 'adorable name.

In *RV* I. 117.21 the Asvins are said to have produced far-spreading light for the Arya blasting away the Dasyu with their trumpet. Here, too by *dasyu* Sakandasvamin means *anarya* and Sayana as *upaksayakarina*. By *aryaya* Skandasvamin means for the favour of Arya, i.e., 'person of good conduct' (*sadhunamanugrahartham*). Sayana here takes *aryaya* Venkatamadhava means 'for wise one' or for Manu. In *RV* II.11.18 Indra is said to have uncovered the light for the Arya sinking the Dasyu in his left hand. In *RV* VII.5.6 Agni is said to have dispelled the Dasyus from their place producing great light for the Arya. Here by *aryaya* Venkatamadhava means 'for people' (*aryaya manusyaya* and Sayana as *deed u person karmavate janaya*). In *RV* X.43.4 Indra is prayed for bestowing *aryam jyotih* to the people. Here Venkatamadhava and Sayana render *aryam* as *preyam* an adjective of light. Udgitha takes *aryam* the 'powers of Indra'. In *RV* I, 59.2 Vaisvanara Agni is said to have been produced by the gods to be verily the light for the Arya. Here Sayana as usual takes *arya* to mean a scholar, Manu or a sacrificer (*aryaya viduse manave yajamanaya va*). In *RV* VIII.33.7 there is a reference to three *aryah prajah* having light before them. Here, according to Sayana, three *aryah prajah* refer to three noble creatures. viz. Vasu, Rudra and Adityas.

In *RV* I.130.8 Indra is said to have protected in the battlefield the Arya who offers sacrifices. Here *yajamanatva* 'the performership of the sacrifice' is referred to as a distinctive feature of an Arya. Venkatamadhava here takes *aryam* to mean *traivarnikam*, i.e., belonging to three classes of people—Brahmana, Rajanya and Vaisya. Sayana explains *aryam* as 'approacheable by all' (*aryam araniyam sarvair gantavyam*). In *RV* I.156.5 Visnu is said to have given the Arya, the sacrificer, the share of Rta. To follow the path of Rta here referred to is another main characteristic feature of the Arya. According to Sayana, Visnu, the dweller of three regions, is said to have made the Arya pleased and given the fruit of the sacrifice to him. In *RV* IV .26.2 Indra is reported as himself saying that he has given land to the Arya, rain and bellowing waters to the sacrificing people.

Here *dasuse martyaya* seems to be explanation of *aryaya* given by the seer himself. Venkatamadhava renders *aryaya* to *panditaya* and Sayana as *Manave*, for Manu.' In *RV* VII.18.17 Indra is said to have brought the cows of the *arya* for the Trtus killing the enemies in the battle. Venkatamadhava takes *arya* here as referring to Turvasa and Sayana as to *karmasila*. In *RV* VIII.103. 1 Agni is mentioned as the increaser of the Arya. Here Venkatamadhava by *aryaya* understands *aryaya varnasya* and Sayana as *uttamavarnasya*. In *RV* IX.63.5 soma is mentioned as flowing forth making all 'Arya'. Venkatamadhava takes *aryam* to mean *kalanam* and Sayana as *bhadram*. The phrase *krrwanto visvam aryam* is most often used to express 'making the entire universe Arya'. In *RV* X.65.11 Visvedevah are mentioned as spreading the *arya-vrata* over the land. Udghita takes *arya vrata*, mean 'godly deeds', such as Agnihotra, etc. Venkatamadhava and Sayana, by *arya vrata*, mean *kalyanani karmani*. Griffith takes it to mean the righteous laws of Aryan. In *RV* IX 63.14 soma is mentioned as flowing forth to the dwellings or Aryas with streams of water. In *RV* X.11.4 there is an explicit mention of *arya visah*. Here it is

said that when the Arya people chose Agni as invoking priest, then the act like performance of sacrifice. Udgitha and Sayana take *aryah* to mena *yajamanah*.

From the above survey of meanings of the word *arya* as given by the Indian commentators of the *RV* it would be clear that this word has been assigned various meanings but everywhere it gives a good sense. We may classify these meanings into four groups:—

- (i) *svami* (V,S) *vidvan* (S), *pandita* (V), *anusthata* (S), *sadhu* (Sk) *sadhuvrtta* (Sk), *yajmana* (V,S, *yagapara* (Sk), *yasta* (Sk), *stota* (S), *karmanusthatrjana* (S), *karmakrt-jana* (S), *karma-yukta* (S), *karmavat* (S), *karmasila*(S), *kulina* (Udg), *abhijna* (Udg), *abhigamaniya* (Udg, S), *araniya* (S), *sarvaih gantavya* (S), *agantavya* (S).
- (ii) *manu* (V.S) *Manusya* (V), *tribhuvanesvara*, *Indra* (Udg).
- (iii) *srestha* (S) *bhadra* (S), *kalyunakarma* (V), *prerya* (V,S), *pujya* (S), *prakasa* (V).
- (iv) *traivarnika* (V,S), *uttama varna* (V,S).

On the other hand, the word *dara* or *dasyu* has been given opposite meanings to Arya, such as

- (i) *anusthatrnam upaksapayita*, *upaksayakari*, *karmanupaksapayita*, *badhaka*, *satru*, *asura*, *karmahina-jana*, *karma-virodhi*, *asadacar*, *akulina*, etc.
- (ii) *anarya*, *sudra*, *karmakara* (servant) etc.

On the basis of opposite meanings of the words *arya* and *dasyu* scholars have been led to propound different theories regarding the Arya and the Dasas. Griffith in the footnote to *RV*. I.51.8 writes, 'the Aryas are, first the people who speak the languages of Veda and Dayus are the original and hostile people of India. Later, the former are the true and loyal people,

faithful to India and the gods, and the latter are the wicked and godless'. This is not the view of Griffith only. Almost all the western scholars have the same view and this is because of their wrong supposition that Aryans came to India from Central Asia and they conquered Dasa or Dasyus, the non-Aryan inhabitants of the land. Prof. Kshetreshchandra Chattopadhyaya on the basis of Rgvedic references refuted this view and expressed his own view that Dasyus and Dasas are mythological beings, that they are demons. Had they been real enemies, certainly the sturdy Aryan conqueror had no cause to be afraid of the vanquished non-Aryans. But for all their physical strength and military equipment the Aryan could not escape the universal fear of demons. According to Prof. Chattopadhyaya this demonphobia came from that fear complex which is innate in man and manifest itself in strange forms today even among civilised people. This view of Prof. Chattopadhyaya could have been accepted had the word *dasa* or *dasyu* occurred only with Vedic gods. But there are a large number of passages, as we have seen above, where Dasyu or Dasa is used by the side of *arya*. Chattopadhyaya, to defend his position even in such cases, too, expressed his doubt whether *Arya* had an ethnic connotation. He writes: 'Is it certain that *arya* had an ethnic connotation? In quite a number of passages *arya* or *ari* means 'pious man' and in I.59.2 simply 'man'. In classical Sanskrit *arya* ordinarily means a 'good man'. We should remember that 'good' was the meaning of the element *ari* in Greek superlative *aristos*. It is believed that the word *arya* bore an ethnic connotation in Indic and Iranic. But the matter requires a fresh investigation. Darius probably means by *ariya* and *ariya-chitra* in Naksh-i-Rustam a 14 'noble of noble lineage' as opposed to the upstart Gaumata, the Median, and not 'Aryan' of Aryan birth'.

No doubt *Arya* means 'good', 'noble' and this meaning has also been given by Indian commentators as we have already seen. But there are passages in the RV where this meaning does not suit the context. In RV IV.30.18 Indra is said to

have killed two Aryas, viz., Arna and Citraratha at the bank of Sarayu. According to Sayana, Arna and Citraratha were two Arya kings, but they had no respect for Indra, hence the latter killed them. In *RV* VI.22.10 Indra is said to have killed both the enemies, the Dasas and the Aryas like wood with well-shot lighting. It is not understandable why Sayana took Arya as enemies on the one hand following the text of the *RV*., and explained it as 'noble on account of their performing sacrifice', on the other. In *RV* VI.6-6 Indra and Agni are said to have subdued the Arya enemies along with the Dasa enemies. In *RV* VI.33.3 Indra is said to have killed both the enemies, the Aryas and the Dasas. Here both Venkatamadhava and Sayana take *arya vrtrani* to mean 'mischiefs done by the Aryas. According to Skandasvamin here is a mention of two families Arya and Anarya. In *RV*, X.69.6 Agni is said to have conquered both the enemies, the Dasas and the Aryas. In *RV* VII.83.1 Indra and Varuna are said to have killed two types of enemies, the Dasas and the Aryas, and protected Sudas. Sayana renders *aryani vrtra* as *dharmanusthanaparani satrujatani*. In *RV* X.38.3 there is a reference to three types of enemies, the Dasas, the Aryas and the Adevas. Here a desire has been expressed that may we, with the grace of Indra, be conquerors of the enemies whether he be a Dasa or an Arya, or godless person (*adeva*), who would war with us. Griffith takes *adeva* as a common attribute to both Dasa and Arya. How can an Arya be *adeva*? In *RV* X.83.1 a desire has been expressed to conquer both Dasa and the Arya with the help of Manu. Here Udgitha takes *aryan* to mean 'worthy of being approached for the battle on account of his being endowed with the qualities of a hero; and Sayana as 'better than we' (*asmattodhikam*). In *RV* X.102.3 Indra is invoked for keeping away the weapon both of Dasa and of Arya. Venkatamadhava here takes *aryasya* to mean *traivarnikasya* and Dasa as *sudra*. Curiously enough. Sayana here takes *dasasya* to mean 'of a weak enemy' (*upaksinasya alapsya*) and *aryasya* to mean

‘of great enemy’(*abhigantavyasya mahato va satroh*).

In these passages the word *arya* cannot be taken as to mean ‘noble’ or ‘good’ or ‘pious’. If *arya* means ‘good’, ‘benevolent’, ‘noble’, ‘why have the bearers of this designation been treated as enemies? Why have Indra, Agni, Varuna, Manyu been mentioned as subduing them? If Arya means ‘performer of sacrifices (*yajamana*)’, why have the gods like Indra, Agni, Varuna been asked to stand against them in the battlefield? Under this circumstance should be assign another meaning to the word *arya* which may suit the context? No, certainly not. We can get rid of the crux of the problem if we accept the word *arya* as connoting a people who developed a culture which we call Vedic, a people who spoke a language which we call Vedic, also known as Aryan after their name. The two types of Rgvedic references, viz., first, showing Arya as being protected and helped by the gods against the Dasas or the Dasyus and, second, showing them as being conquered by the gods along with the Dasas or Dasyus, refer to two strata of political history of the Aryan people.

The Rgvedic passages referring to the Aryas as ‘noble’, ‘good’, performing sacrifices.’ showing love for light and hate for darkness’, ‘worshipping gods and goddesses’, ‘conquering Dasas or Dasyus with the help of their gods’, relate to that stratum of Aryan history when two groups of people seem to have settled on the land of Sapatasindhu-pradesh and developed two different cultures. The two groups of people might have difference in colour, but the colour was not the main cause of difference between the two cultures. The only and sole factor responsible for difference was the institution of sacrifice, which one believed in the practice, while the other did not. One group, which believed, in Yajna and practically performed it, constituted the Aryan, i.e., the noble class and the other which did not believe in yajna constituted the Dasa or Dasyu class, though this name was given by the former group of the people. Thus, on the canvass of Indian

civilisation, in the beginning we find two classes of people, one Aryan and the other Dasa. The struggle between the adherents of two cultures continued for a long time. Ultimately, the Aryan class succeeded in defeating the Dasas with the help of their gods. Though, to a great extent, the struggle between the Aryas and Dasas has mythological treatment, yet it cannot also be denied that a history peeps through it.

The Rgvedic passages showing the Aryans as being conquered by the gods along with the Dasas or Dasyus relate to that stratum of Aryan history when Aryan people were subdivided into many clans, and a king of one clan was fighting against the other, sometimes alone, and sometimes with the help of Dasas or Dasyus. In the Dasarajna was Sudas fought against a confederation of ten kings which consisted of both Aryan and Dasuy king and got victory over the latter with the help of Indra and Varuna.

According to A.C. Das the names of the ten kings who formed the confederacy were the Anus, the Druhyus, the Bharatas, the Yadus, the Turvasas, the Purus, the Simyus, the Ajas, the Sigrus, and Yaksus, Bheda, the king of a tribe on the Yamuna also took a leading part in the war.

Asura

The meaning of the word asura occurring in the *Rgveda* has long been a subject of speculation and numerous theories have been propounded by scholars devoted to the study of Indo-European religion. This word including its variants *asura* and *asura* occurs eighty-eight times in the *Rgveda*, seventy-one times in the singular number, four times in the dual, ten times in the plural, and three times as the first member of a compound. Included in this reckoning is the feminine form *asurya* which occurs thrice. The word *asura* has also been used nineteen times as an abstract noun, while the abstract form *asuratva* occurs twenty-four times, twenty-two times

in each of the twenty-two stanzas of one hymn and twice in other hymns.

The service done to the study and interpretation of the Vedas by the early western scholars beginning with Colebrook and including such distinguished names as those of Roth, Max Muller, Wilson, Oldenberg, Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner, Kaegi, Griffith, Whitney, Macdonell and Keith will never be forgotten. Yet no human being, however great, can be perfect. So far as the word *asura* occurring in the *Rgveda* is concerned the basic mistake which led to the propounding of several untenable theories was that the meaning given to it was one which the poets of the *Rgveda* never has in their minds. Thus Macdonell explained the word as divine being. The word, however, though applied some time or the other to most of the prominent gods, never meant a divine being in the *Rgveda*. Let us examine the matter in detail.

Barring seven of the latest hymns, the word *asura*, including its variants *asura* and *asura*, is always used in the *Rgveda* as an objective meaning powerful or mighty. In all probability the word is derived from *asu* meaning spirit with the suffix *ra*. Thus the original meaning of the word appears to have been spirited or courageous from which developed the allied idea of powerful or mighty. This word has been applied not only to gods in general but individually to most of the prominent deities and the context make it quite clear that the word in every case means powerful or mighty. Had the application of the word been confined to gods, there would have been a remote possibility of two opinions about its meaning. But its application to persons other than gods and even to inanimate objects and abstract ideas leaves absolutely no room for doubt about its true significance in the *Rgveda*. Thus two of the several generous Aryan king mentioned in the *Rgveda* have been praised by the word *asura* which in this context can only mean mighty, not divine. In one hymn the priests appear to have been called *Iasura* and the word here also can mean

powerful or influential, not divine. In another hymn the poet prays to the Maruts to grant him a son who is *asura*. Here also it is clear that the word can only mean mighty, not divine. In yet another hymn the gift of Maruts has been described as speedy like an *asurya janjati* i.e. a powerful. It is therefore not surprising that five of the celestial and terrestrial hostile beings have also been called *asura* or mighty in the *Rgveda*.

It would be useful to go into the details of the deities and other persons described as *asura* in the *Rgveda*. Among the *Rgvedic* deities Indra has received the honour of being described as *asura* or possessing *asurya* or *asuratya* in the largest number of hymns totalling sixteen. He is nine times called *asura* (including its variant *asurya* which occurs thrice). Five times he is said to possess or grant *asurya* (strength), once he is said to possess *asuratva* (mightiness), and once his deeds are called *asuryani* i.e. powerful. Agni follows Indra in quick succession being twelve times called *asura* (including the variant *asura* which occurs once), once as son of the *asura* (Dyaus), and twice as possessing *assurya*. Varuna comes next, being ten times called *asurya* (including its variant *asurya*, which occurs once), and four times as possessing *asurya*. These three are the mighties deities of the *Rgveda*. Next to them are Mitra and Rudra. Mitra has in the company of Varuna four times been called *asura* and four times as possessing *assurya*. Rudra is six times called *asura*. Once as possessing *asurya* and once as bestowing it.

Next comes Dyaus who is six times called *asurya*. Soma has thrice been called *asura*, once as bestowing *asurya* and once as possessing an *asurya*, i.e. awe-inspiring, colour. Savitr has four times been called *asurya*. Surya has thrice been called *asura* (including its variant *asurya* which occurs once) and parjanya receives this honour the same number of times. Vayu has once been called *asurya* and once as possessing *asurya*. Maruts have once been described as *lasuras* and once

as capable of granting an *asura* son to their devotee. Pusan and tvastr and called *asura* and *Brhaspati asurya*. only once. Apam Napat has once been described as possessing *asurya*. sarasvati and Rodasi get the honour of being called *asurya* once, while Usas is once said to possess *asuratva*. Aditi is said to have produced Mitra and Varuna for *asurya*. The Adityas are once called possessors of *asurya* and the Vasus are said to have placed *asurya* in Agni. The gods in general are four times called *asuras*, once as sons of the *asura* dyaus, once as appointing Mitra and Varuna for *asurya*, thrice as possessing *asurya* and twenty-two times as possessing *asuratva*. In two of the hymns where some unnamed god appears to be called *asura* it is not possible to identify him. Besides the gods, two Aryan kings Svanya Bhavya and Rama have each once received the honour of being called *asura* or mighty. This mighty king Rama is in all probability identical with the hero of the *Ramayana* for no other mighty kings of ancient times bearing the name Rama is known to any work of Indian Literature. Lastly the extraordinary power of even five of the hostile beings has been indicated by calling them *asura*. One of them Svarbhanu has been twice called *asura* while the same adjective is used for Namuci once. The other three hostile beings to whom the adjective *asura* is applied once are Vrkadvaras, Varcin and Pipru.

The foregoing survey proves beyond a shadow of doubt that in most of the hymns of the *Rgveda* the word *asura* including its variants meant nothing but mighty while the abstract nouns *asurya* and *asuratva* were used in the sense of mightiness. Towards the end of the *Rgvedic* period this word underwent an extraordinary semantic change. It not only became a noun from an adjective but also acquired the totally different meaning of demon. In seven of the latest hymns occurring in books VI, VII, VIII and X of the *Rgveda* the word *asura* has been used in its new sense. In VIII.96, the poet prays to Indra to destroy the godless *asuras*. In X.53.4 Agni exhorts his devotees to perform sacrifices which may lead to the defeat

of the *asuras* by Indra. In X.151.3 the gods are said to have put faith in (their victory of the *asuras*). In consonance with this new meaning three of the hymns call Indra, Agni and Surya respectively as *asurahan* (*asura-slayer*).

The authorship, contents and language of these hymns conclusively prove that they are among the latest portions of the *Rgveda*. So far as the authorship of the hymns of the six family books is concerned it should be noted that the practice of dispensing with the personal name and using the family name alone was widely prevalent in the two families of the Bharadvajas and the Vasisthas. Among the founders of the other families of these six books Grtsamada and Visvamitra never became family names while Vamadeva and Atri were seldom used as such. It is, therefore, in the sixty and seventh books along belonging to the families of Bharadvaja and Vasistha respectively that even very late authors of these families have been mentioned by their family names alone as Bharadvaja or vasistha. Hymn VI, 22 was certainly composed by a very late Bharadvaja. Here Indra is called *divyasya janasya raja* i.e. king of gods, the first occurrence in the *Rgveda* of an idea which developed and became crystallized in the Puranas. In book VII not only hymn 13 but also the one immediately proceeding it and the one succeeding it as also hymn 33 are very late compositions in which the Vasisthas are frequently mentioned as a family apparently of long standing.

Coming to hymn 96 of book VIII, its lateness is proved not only by the uncertainty of its authorship but also by its contents. It mentions an obscure river named Amsumati whose name never occurs before, the tenth book ostensibly contains the largest number of late hymns and the four hymns mentioning the word *asura* in its new meaning are undoubtedly the latest. The names of the real authors of these hymns are unknown and their language and ideas distinctly show signs of a later era in the *Rgvedic* period.

The questions natural arises : what led to the change in the meaning of the word *asura* towards the end of the *Rgvedic* period? The answer can only be guessed. Probably the application of this word in the older sense of 'mighty' to some of the hostile beings imperceptibly led to a change in its meaning. The change might have been accelerated, as Macdonell thinks, by the want of a general word to denote the higher hostile demoniac power and by an incipient popular etymology recognizing a negative in the word and leading to the invention of *sura*, god.

Asvinasastra

Asvinasastra is the prayer consisting of more than a thousand res. It is recited in the Soma sacrifices. Even though it is primarily intended for the Asvins,, it contains the praise of other deities such as Agni, Usas and Indra. Regarding the recitation of the first *rc* there was a quarrel amongst the various deities. Regarding this the AB narrates a myth :

Prajapati give his daughter Suryasavitri in marriage to the king Soma. All gods came there as paranympths. Prajapati formed according to the model a *vahatu* (i.e. the things such as turmeric powder etc.) to be carried before the paranympths. These are the thousand verses in the Asvinasastra. The Hotr drinks ghee before reciting the *rcs* in the Asvinasastra. Just as in this world a cart or a carriage goes well if it is smeared with oil, so the recitations goes well if he drinks ghee. He takes the position like a bird about to fly (AB 4.7).

Continuing the myth further the AB points out that the gods were the groomsmen at the marriage of Suryasavitri. They did not agree as to the precedence. Then they decided to run a race. They agreed that one who comes first in the race will be praised first in the Asvinasastra. The gods made a course from Agni, the lord of the house, to the sun. As these deities were running a race and had started Agni took lead first. The Asvins followed him. They said to Agni, "Give way, we

two shall win this race". Agni agreed. Therefore at the Asvinasastra, first a litany to Agni is recited.

They followed Usas. They said to her, 'Give way, we two will win this race". She agreed on the condition that she would be given a share. Therefore at Asvinasastra, the *res* Usas are recited (AB 47).

They followed Indra. They entreated him, "We will win the race, oh generous one". They did not dare to say him, "Give way". He agreed. The *res* are recited in the honour of Agni, Usas and Indra (AB 4.7).

By means of a chariot driven by mules Agni ran the race. As he drove on he burnt their wombs. Therefore they do not conceive (AB 4.9).

In this connection the KB (18.2) informs us further that in the Asvinasastra the Hotr recites for Agni to obtain this world, the Usas to get the world of atmosphere, for Asvins to secure the yonder world, for Surya to win the fourth world of the gods, the waters.

The recitation of more than a thousand *res* constituting the Asvinasastra has another significance too. For, as long as there is no singing or reciting, so long the Raksases are able to drink Soma. Therefore the Hotrs recite loudly. They kindle the Ahavaviya fire. Soma of them may even go to sleep and snore; but they should create loud sound. Thus they drive away all evil forces. Evil does not attack them, perceiving that they are in motion. Thus the loud recitation, loud sound of any kind or activity prevents the Raksases from coming near the Soma and drink it (KB 17.8). This is the reason for reciting the *res* loudly.

Agni was first to touch the heaven, the uppermost region with his flames. He closed the gates of the heaven and did not allow any one to come there after him (AB 3.42).

Asya Vamasya Sukta (RV 1.164)

The *Asya vamasya sukta* is one of the longest and most difficult hymns of the *Rgveda*, containing a large number of verses enshrining deep thought of mystical and metaphysical significance. Some of the verses of this hymn have found a place in the Upanisads and Brahmana passages having a bearing on philosophical problems. Considering the richness of the philosophical contents of this hymn, Atmananda has interpreted the entire hymn in the light of Advaitic philosophy. Some of the modern scholars also have come forward with original interpretations on this hymn.

Verse 41 of this hymn, which apparently alludes to the diverse manifestations of Speech or *Vak* (Speech personified), has given wide scope for speculation regarding its real meaning and purport:

गौरी मिमाय सलिलानि तक्षत्येकपदी सा चतुष्पदी।
अष्टापदी नवपदी बभूयुषी सहस्राक्षा परमे व्योमन्॥

An attempt is made here to give a critical exegesis of this verse with due consideration to its earlier interpretations in the Brahmanas, the Nirukta and later commentaries.

The divergent interpretations offered by ancient exegetes may be noticed briefly, at the outset.

Yaska quotes and explainss the verse while giving the etymology of the word *gauri* (*Nirukta* 11.40). Gauri is derived from the root *ruc* 'to shine' and 'is the speech of the middle region (thunder). 'Gauri, fashioning the waters, generates (objects of the world); with the atmosphere, she is one-footed, with the atmosphere and the sun two-footed with the four principal quarters four-footed, with the four principal quarters and the intermediary quarters eight-footed, with the eight quarters and the sun nine-footed and in the highest sky thousand-footed, with the eight quarters and the sun nine-footed and in the highest sky thousand-footed, possessing

abundant water. Yaska's explanation embodies the natural phenomenon phenomenon of thunder and rainfall which, in turn, produce (the vegetation); what he means by *ekapadi* etc. is the pervasion of the whole space by the reverberating thunder.

gaurih (speech of the middle region, understood from the context); *mimaya* (generates, *nirmimaya*); *salilani* (not explained); *taksati* (fashioning, *kurvati*); *pada* (in *ekapadi* etc., residence or support); *aksara* (water, *bahudaka*). Yaska has not mentioned the object of *nirmimaya*; by *nirmimaya*, he could have meant only the matter of which the universe is composed, as he has, at first, spoken of the creation of waters in unambiguous terms. Among the various theories on the origin of the world and the order of creation, one mentions water as the first object created and this explains the special mention of the waters in the verse under consideration. In this context, Durga's observation on *Nirukta* 11.40 is worth quoting : *udaka-purvakatat sarvanirmanasya*.

Sayana explains this verse in his *Rgvedabhasya* in a lightly different way : "The speech of the middle region gives rise to sound, securing rains (for the welfare of the world). She is one-footed when residing in the cloud or with the air, when she uses it as a means of conveyance; two-footed when residing in the cloud and the atmosphere, or the sun may be the second (foot); four-footed when residing at the four principal quarters: eight-footed when residing at the four intermediary quarters added to the four principal quarters; nine-footed when residing at the eight quarters along with the quarter above or the sun; she is all-pervading at the topmost region of space.

Gaurth (speech of the middle region); *mimaya* (makes sound, *sabdayati*); *salilani* (rain-water, *vrstyudaka*); *taksati* (securing, *sampadayitri*), *pada* (in *ekapadi* etc., residence, *adhisthana* or means of conveyance, *gamanaadhana*); *aksara* (water).

Sayana has noticed also the explanation offered by some other (probably, the grammarians): 'Speech, which is none other than *Sabdabrahman*, measures out (space), i.e., pervades the entire space); she creates the objects of the world, together with their names; she is uni-support in the unmanifest state; she manifests herself twofold as substantive and verb; fourfold as substantive, verb preposition and particle; eightfold as the eight nominal inflected forms; ninefold as the eight inflected forms together with the indeclinable or at the nine places of production viz., naval etc., and manifold at the heart-space).

Atihayat

In the Vedic word-Concordance, Vol. II (Brahmanas), appears an entry *atihayat* with a question mark. Apparently the form has been looked upon, doubtfully, as a present participle from *ati-ha(jihite)*. The form in question occurs twice in the *Jaiminiya-Brahmana* 3.205 and 3.208.

The *Jaim. Br.* 3.208 reads as : *supravir astu sa ksayah pranu yaman sudanavah ye no amho tipiprati ity atihayan*.

In these two passages, the Brahmana portion has not been correctly read. What appears as *atihayan* should really be read as *ati hayan=aati ha ayan* "they have, indeed, gone beyond, i.e., they have indeed, completed (the performance of)". The Brahmana remark is intended to justify the choice of the *mantras* which contain the words *atyeti* 'goes over, or goes beyond' (*Joim. Br.* 3. 205) and *atipiprati* 'they carry over or beyond' (*Jaim. Br.* 3.208). The Brahmana passages say that these particular *mantras* containing the words *atyeti* and *atipiprati* are used because "they (the priests) have, indeed, gone beyond, i.e., they have completed (the performance of the ritual pertaining to the *prsthya sadaha*)".

In the second passage (*Jaim. Br.* 3.208) the author of the Brahmana could have said *ati ha apiparuh*, instead of *ati ha ayan*, because the *mantra* contains the verbal form

atipiprati (from the root *pr*) and not *atyeti* (from the root *i*). But the author chose to repeat *ati ha ayan* from 3.205, apparently because the justification for the use of the *mantra* was the same, viz., “the priests have gone beyond (the *prsthya sadaha*)”.

The *mantras* in question are used in the *Bahispavamanastotra* and the *Ajya-stotra* respectively of the second of the three *Chandoma* days. In a *Dvadasaha* rite, lasting for twelve days, the first and the twelfth days are respectively the *Prayanika* and the *Udadyaniya* days. The remaining ten days are divided into three parts, viz., the *prsthya sadaha* (lasting six days), the *chandomas* (lasting three days), and the *avivakya* (the tenth day).

In the *Aitareya-Brahmana* it is said about the first of the above three parts as *prshyam salaham upayanti* “(the priests) approach the *prsthya sadana*. “Similarly while speaking about the last day, the *Ait. Br.* says *dasamam ahar agacchanti* “(the priests) who arrive at the tenth day.” It is interesting to note the use of the forms of the verb meaning “to go” in these two passages. Since the three *Chandoma* days occur between the *prsthya sadaha* and the tenth days, the *Jaim. Br.* expression *dati ha ayan* obviously refers to the priests who, after approaching (*upayanti*) the *prsthya sadaha*, have gone beyond it in order to perform the rites pertaining to the *Chandoma* days before finally arriving (*agacchanti*) at the tenth day.

The *Jaim. Br.* passage contains the the form *ayan* in the imperfect, and not *yanti* or *gacchanti* in the present, because what is intended to be conveyed is what the priests have already accomplished. Since they have gone beyond, i.e., completed the ritual pertaining to the *prsthya sadaha*, the *mantras* containing the forms *atyeti* the ‘goes beyond’ or *atipiprati* ‘they carry beyond’ are considered fit (*rupasamrddha*) for the *stomas* of the first of the three *Chandoma* days.

The *Jaim. Br.* remark *ati ha ayan* is no doubt cryptic. But the use of the form *upayanti* and *agaochanit* in the *Ait. Br.* and of *yanti* in the *Jaim. Br.* itself (3.206.208) makes it fairly certain that the subject of *ayan* is the 'priests'. And the context where the cryptic remark occurs makes it almost equally fairly certain that what the priests have gone beyond, i.e., what they have already completed is the *prsthya sadaha*.

It may however, be pointed out that in the *Jaim. Br.* 3.173 we are told that Prajapati created the three *Chandoma* days in order to connect the *prsthya sadaha* with the following four days (viz., the three *Chandoma* days and the tenth day). In 3.174 we read *Chandamsy evaitac chandoman abhyatinayanty uttarasya tryahasya samparanaya* "thus the metres themselves carry (the sacrifice) to the *Chandoma* days in order (further) or go beyond (the ritual of) the three days."

In view of this passage it is possible it is possible to understand 'metres' as the subject of *ati ayan* for they are supposed to have gone beyond the *prsthya sadaha*.

It may also be observed in the end that we find in the *Brahmanas* the use of the preterite forms when there is a reference to what the gods or the sages did in the past. Hence there is also the possibility of the 'gods' or the 'sages' being the subject of *ati ayabn*.

Aurobindo's Interpretation

Authorities on the *Rigveda* agree that the vital difference recognised by the Aryan between himself and his enemy the non-aryan is religio-cultural. Sri Aurobindo takes a revolutionary step beyond this consensus. With a masterly sweep of intuitive insight, linguistic expertise and exegetical logic, which can hardly be ignored, he has demonstrated all other arguable distinctions to be merely aspects of that one difference and given a wholly non-physical and supernatural explanation of the *Rigveda's* religio-cultural drama of

collaboration and conflict.

He has a strong *prima facie* case. Quite reasonably he argues: "such profound and ultimate thoughts, such systems of subtle and elaborate psychology as are found in the substance of the Upanishads, do not spring out of a previous void... The thought of the Upanishads supposes great origins anterior to itself, and these in the ordinary theory are lacking. The hypothesis, invented to fill the gap, that these ideas were borrowed by barbarous Aryan invaders from the civilized Dravidians, is a conjecture supported only by other conjectures. Sri Aurobindo demands a background such as preceded the schools of intellectual philosophy in Europe. Just as the "Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries prepared the rich soil of mentality out of which sprang Pythagoras and Plato", so too does the Rigveda represent "the starting point... for the later march of thought in India. In fact, to Sri Aurobindo, the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries are "the failing remnants" of an early period of human development that is documented most substantially by the Rigveda, a period "when the spiritual and psychological knowledge of the race was concealed, for reasons now difficult to determine, in a veil of concrete and material figures and symbols which protected the sense from the profane and revealed it to the initiated".

Sri Aurobindo, glancing at post-Vedic literature, observes: "Much indeed of the forms and symbols of thought which we find in the Upanishads, much of the substance of the Brahmanas supposes a period in India in which thought took the form of the veil of secret teaching such as those of the Greek mysteries. "And in the Rigveda itself there are certain affirmations to justify the term "Veda" which means "Knowledge" and the title "Rishi" implying seerhood for the hymn-composer. Sri Aurobindo cites two of them: "In one of Vamadeva's hymns in the fourth Mandala (IV.3.16) the Rishi describes himself as one illumined expressing through his thought and speech words of guidance, 'secret words' *ninya*

vachansi—‘seer-wisdoms that utter their inner meaning to the seer’—*kavyani kavaye nivachanba*. The Rishi Dirghatamas speaks of the Riks, the Mantras of the Veda, as existing ‘in a supreme ether, imperishable and immutable in which all the gods are seated,’ and he adds ‘one who knows not That what shall he do with the Rik?’ (I.164.39.”

Sri Aurobindo refers also to the frequent appeal by the Upanishads to the Rigveda’s authority for the truths they themselves announce, and he informs us that even the ancient lexicographer Yaska’s *Nirukta* speaks of several schools of Vedic interpretation, from which it singles out as the most authentic the spiritual one holding that “the Rishis saw the truth, the true law of things, directly by an inner vision. In further support of Sri Aurobindo there is the curious fact observable right to our own day and contradicting the trend of thought which sets the Rigveda aside as a book of priestly rituals for a common household life at once dutiful and prosperity-seeking—the fact of a persistent popular tradition in India that, echoing the pronouncements of the old rishis, takes this scripture as embodying mantras of an eternal verity.

Yes, Sri Aurobindo is not indulging in a new-fangled ingenuity. But he does not stop with discerning and disclosing mystical elements in the Rigveda: he asserts that the Dasas and Dasyus against whom the Rishis wage war are not human beings at all. This assertion of a through-going symbolism may sound fantastic. But it can be upheld even by choosing to meet the proponents of the current historical and naturalistic theory on their own ground with just a few sidelights from Sri Aurobindo.

No doubt, the Dasas and Dasyus are characterized by the expression *anas* and *krisna-tvach*, which may be translated respectively “noseless” and “black-skinned” and applied to flat-nosed dark-complexioned “Dravidians” of a predominantly Proto-Australoid stock, a streak of which has always been present in India. But when we look a little closely at the Dasa-Dasyu “tribes” we are bound to be struck by deeper

possibilities. Macdonell and Keith, with no bias towards symbolism, have yet stated; "Dasyu, a word of some what doubtful origin, is in many passages of the Rigveda clearly applied to superhuman enemies... Dasa, like Dasyu, sometimes denotes enemies of a demoniac character in the Rigveda." Can we be equally positive that in any passage these terms refer to human beings?

Authorship of the Vedabhasyas

The question of authorship of the voluminous Vedic commentary *Vedarthaprakasa* (a collective name for his *vedabhasyas*) has exercised the minds of scholars for many decades. Arguments have been produced to question the soundness of the view held by a long tradition that Sayana was its sole author. Studies on this question began with P.D.Gune's well-documented article which appeared in 1927, and among the principal Sharma and K.Krishnamoorthy. Although finality is not yet reached on the authorship of all the works attributed to Sayana or to his elder brother Madhyva, yet there is no gainsaying on Sayana's being a part-author of the *Vedarthaprakasa*. This suggestion also first came from Gune, which was based on a number of observations he had in this examination of the commentary. One among these observations was a large number of contradictions detectable in the different parts of the commentary which even showed those of the exegetical and grammatical type regarding the same expression. C.G.Kashikar, in his study on the material from the *Rgveda-samhita*, reached the conclusion that "the variant readings of different types in his commentary appear to be the result of negligence on his part, or, to a certain extent, of an intentional character for the sake of interpretation." The latest remark on such inconsistencies in the explanations of Sayana is from J.Gonda suggesting that these "could in part be due to the fact that he followed various traditions of authorities."

1. One additional case of such inconsistency that has been detected and analysed below.
2. The famous *Jnanasukta* in the *RV*, 10.71, has the 6th *mantra* as follows:

यस्तित्याज सचिविदं सखायं न तस्य वाच्यपि भागो अस्ति ।
यदिं सृणोत्यलंक सृणोति न हि प्रवेद सुकृतस्य पन्थाम् ॥

This *mantra*, according to Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, appears again thrice in the Veda at *TA* 1.3.1-2, 2.15.1 and *AA*3.2.4.3 all of which are commented upon by Sayana; it is further found referred to in Sayana's *Rgvedabhasyabhumika*. Thus, in all, Sayana has commented upon it at five places. An examination of his commentary there would be interesting.

Ayodhya

Ayodhya is one of the most ancient cities of India, but in the absence of any historical evidence it is impossible to form even a rough idea about its antiquity. One way of judging its antiquity is to find out whether its name occurs in early Vedic literature or not. Since there appears to be prevailing a good deal of confusion on this issue, I propose to discuss it in the present article.

As it well-known, the noted British scholar F.E.Pargiter, believing that the Brahmanas lacked the historical sense, decried the Vedic literature composed by Brahmanas as against the Puranas which he regarded as embodying the Ksatriya tradition and therefore more trustworthy. In consonance with this stand of his, he put complete reliance on the Puranic tradition according to which kings of the Ikshvaku synasty ruled in Ayodhya from the earliest times. Thinking, therefore, that if a village or town is mentioned even without name in association with a king of the Ikshvaku dynasty it must be identified with Ayodhya, he made the curious remark in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (p. 10) that "The Brahmanical story of Sunahsepa (given in the *Aitaareya*

Brahmana and the *Sarikhayana Srautasasutra*) speaks of the most famous city of Ayodhya as a village". Other scholars like B.C.Law, also relying on the same evidence, did not hesitate in saying that Ayodhya is described as a village in these two works. The truth, however, is there is absolutely no mention of Ayodhya in them. What the story of Sunahsepa given in these two works says is simply that Rohita, on hearing of the illness of his father, Hariscandra, went from the forest, where he was living in self-imposed exile, to the village. To see here a reference to Ayodhya because of the mention of Rohita and Hariscandra is totally unwarranted.

If the mere mention of these two Ikshvaku kings implies a reference to Ayodhya, then we will have to assume that Ayodhya is known to the *Rgveda* also since this ancient work mentions the name Ikshvaku itself, besides the names of many other Ikshvaku kings known to the Puranas such as Mandhatri, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu and Tryaruna. The evidence of the *Rgveda*, however, indicates that the early Ikshvaku kings ruled somewhere to the west of the Indus. Thus the identification of the village of the Sunahsepa story with Ayodhya is completely out of the question.

The question naturally arises : Is Ayodhya at all mentioned by name in any early Vedic work? The answer to this is in the affirmative. Notwithstanding the fact that there is no mention of Ayodhya in the Vedic Index, there is a clear mention of it in the *Atharvaveda* though the name there has been given to a celestial city. It does not, however, require much imagination to see that the heavenly city must only be a replica of a real city on the earth. This transference of the name of an actual city on earth to the name of an actual city in heaven is not peculiar to the *Atharvaveda*. In the Bhakti literature even today the names Saketa (another name of Ayodhya) and Vrindavana are often transferred to denote celestial cities called Saketa-dhama and Vrindavana-dhama to which the devotees aspire to go after death. The

mention of Ayodhya in the *Atharvaveda*, therefore, definitely proves that it was in existence in the post-Rgvedic and pre-Brahmana period as a city (*pur*) and not as a village (*grama*).

B

Balhika

Another minor tribe mentioned in the *Rgveda* is the Paravata. It was staying in the vicinity, or, more probably, at the source of the river Sarasvati (cf. the Sarasvati being called *paravata-ghni*, "Smashing the Paravatas" at VI.61.12). The Balhikas are mentioned in the *atharvaveda* (V.22.5), and are, obviously, non-Aryan, as the fever (*takman*) is desired to go to them. They were a northern tribe near the Mujavata. The Madras are already mentioned along with the Uttara-kuru people beyond the Himalayan ranges (*At. Br.*; VII.14 *uddicyan disi ye ke ca parena Himavantam janapada Uttarakurava Uttara-madra iti*). The Uttarakurus were, probably, people of the Kashmir region.

Braratas

The Bharatas were the most illustrious clan in the *Rgveda* though later, due to their merger in the bigger clan of the Kuru-Pancalas, they do not shine much. They are referred to in the Brahmanas as of ancient times. It is probable that their assimilation into the Kuru tribe was through their merger with the Srnjayas. We have noted above that Daivavata was a Srnjaya prince. The *Rgveda* offers another identification

whereby the Bharatas get associated with Daivavata (RV. III.23.2 “the Bharata princes Devasravas and Devavata kindled the bazing fire, that is worthy of respect”), whereby the Srnjaya price Daivavata becomes the son of Devavata Bharata. The glory of the Bharatas can be seen from the fact that in the Rgvedic Apri hymns, the tutelary deity of the Bharatas (Bharati), called Mahi at certain places, had an important place (e.g. III.4.8 “The Bharati with the Bharatas, Ila with gods:\” etc. VII.2.8 for the same verse; I. 142.9 etc.).

Agni was known as ‘Bharata’ (RV IV.25.4 “May Agni Bharata give him protection”); and there was a unique praise of the Bharatas that it was their fire that was famous (RV VII.8.4 *pra pra-ayam agnir Bharatasya srnve*). This close association of the sacrificial fire and the Bharatas is seen also later (Sat. Br. I.4.2.2) where Agni is called Brahmana Bharata. One of the Bharata kings defeated the king of the Satvants, a kingdom of the South (Ai. Br. II.25 “Anon would the Bharatas win the wealth of the Satvants”; also Sat. Br. XIII.5.4.19 “Satanika Satrajita held the sacrificial horse of the Kasis, as did Bharata the Satvants”); and the famous Bharata, the son of Dusyanta is recorded as having performed the Horse-sacrifice (Ibid, 11). Though assimilated with the Kuru-Pancalas, the Bharatas did not lose their identity as a glorious Vedic tribe, as the kings of the Kuru-Pancala clan are often addressed as Bharatarsabha, as is clear from many places from the Mahabharata, and also from the fact that this great country came to be known as Bharatavarsa due to the people that dominated the Madhyadesa, having their settlement on the Sarasvati and spreading both the Vedic cult of the fire and their own fame on all sides.

We have noted the important tribes of the aryaans, and also traced the assimilation of these tribes where possible. In doing so we referred to some tribes that were not clearly Aryan, such as the Bhalana. We now see other tribes known in the Vedic period to be hostile to the Aryans, and also examine the

popular notion about certain tribes being particularly non-Aryan.

Among such tribes as appear to be antagonistic to the Aryans may be noted, first of all, the Panis. Though very rich, these people do not appear to propitiate the Vedic gods; and what the Vedic priest felt about them may be clear from the following:

“O Pusan! cut and loosen the hearts of the Panais” (RV.VI.53.7); “O wise god! slash the hearts of the Panis with your saw (*aryaa*; Ibik. v.5), “Pani, indeed, is the wolf” (VI.51.14). “O Asvins! Kill, indeed, the Panis” (I.184.4). Their wealth was, however, sought, “(Indra) advances to steal the wealth of the Pani” (V.34.7); “The whole of the enjoyments of the Panis was gained” (V.83.40). They do not occur in the later texts with any prominence; and the *Jaiminya Br.* makes them mythical (*Jai. Br.* II.440 “Indeed, the Asuras called Panis were the cowherds of the gods” etc.), which would indicate that they were either wiped out in the later Vedic times, or got assimilated in the Vedic tribes. That they were not on fighting terms with the Aryans is clear enough. The Aryan priest appears to be rather anxious that the Panis perform Vedic sacrifices and give *daksina*. Once seer says, “(O Asvins) we being your sincere singers praise you; may the Pani be well disposed to us (*hita-van*)” (RV I.180.7).

They were cattle-traders and kept the cows in large quantities (RV. I.32.11 “The rains have been held up as holding a vast number of cows, that makes them the Asuras, tending and stealing the cows of the gods, in the *Jaiminiya Br.* Another detail about them mentioned by the *Rgveda* is that they were money-lenders (*bekanata*, RV VIII.66.10, a word of doubtful meaning but rendered as “money-lender” as early as 800 B.C.; cf. *Nirukta* VI.26 *bekanatah khalu kusidino bhavanti*); and they are also said to be traders, on the evidence of etymology (*Nirukta* II.17, VI.26 *panir vanig bhavati*). All this would show that they were from the Aryan

fold itself, but kept away from the sacrificial religion of the Vedic priest-hood that was steadily gaining ground. The effort to win them, however, continued (RV. VI.53.3 "Soften, O god! even Pani's mind", *panes cid vi mrada manah*). The flush of temper of the Vedic seers against the Panis is their own; and it is due to jealousy and frustration, rather than due to any tribal clash.

The Panis do not appear in any strife against the Aryan chiefs. Not all the Panis are the targets of ill desire; and there is the noble Pani, called Brbu, who received praise from one Rgvedic seer. This Brbu is described as the head of all Panis, and is said to be (in donation) as spacious as the bed of the Ganga; for he gave thousands of the priest (RV. VI.45.31 *adhi Brbuh paninam varsisthe murdhann asthat, uruh kaksyo na Gangyah*; and further, "Always do the singers praise Brbu, the giver of thousands- him, the benevolent giver of thousands").

Brahman

Among all the varied formulations of the First and Supreme Principle, none recurs more constantly throughout the later Vedic texts than the *Brahman*. The oldest meaning of this word seems to be 'holy knowledge', or (what to primitive man is the same thing) its concrete expression, 'hymn' or 'incantation'. It is applied both to the ritual hymns of the *Rgveda* and to the magic charms of the *Atharva Veda*. Any holy, mystic utterance is *brahman*. This is the regular, it not the exclusive, meaning which the word has in the *Grveda*. But from the point of view of those times, this definition implies far more than it would suggest to our minds. The spoken word had a mysterious, supernatural power; it contained within itself the essence of the thing denoted. To 'know the *name*' or anything was to control the thing. The *word* means wisdom, knowledge; and knowledge, as we have seen, was (magic) power. So *brahman*, the 'holy word', soon came to mean the

mystic power inherent in the holy word.

But to the later Vedic ritualists, this holy word was the direct expression and embodiment of the ritual religion, and as such a cosmic power of the first magnitude. The ritual religion, and hence its verbal expression, the *brahman*, was omnipotent; it was 'all'. All human desires and aspirations were accessible too him who mastered it. All other cosmic forces, even the greatest of natural and supernatural powers, were dependent upon it. The gods themselves, originally the beneficiaries of the cult, became its helpless mechanical agents, or were left out of account altogether as unseless middlemen. The cult was the direct controlling force of the universe. And the *brahman* was the spirit, the expression, of the cult; nay, it was the cult, mystically speaking, because the word and the thing were one; he who know the word, know and controlled the thing. Therefore, he who knew the *brahman* frequently mentioned as the primal principal and as the ruling and guiding spirit of the universe. It is a thoroughly ritualistic notion, inconceivable except as an out growth of the theories of the ritualistic cult, but very simple and as it were selfevident from the point of view of the ritualists. The overwhelming prominence and importance of the *brahman* in later Vedic speculation seems, therefore, a striking proof of the fact that this speculation was at least in large part a product of ritualistic, priestly circles.

Relations of the First Principle to the Empiric World: Not content with attempts to identify the One, the Vedic thinkers also try to define His, or Its, relation to the empiric world. Here again their suggestions are many are varied. Often the one is a sort of demiurge a Creator, Father, First Cause. Such theistic expressions may be used to impersonal monistic names for the One as well as of more personal, quasi-monotheistic ones. The One is compared to a Carpenter or a Smith, he joins or smelts the word into being. Or his act is like an of generation; he begets all beings. Still more interestingly his

creative activity is compared to a sacrifice, a ritual performance, or to religious favour. This obviously ritualistic imagery appears even in the Rg Veda itself, in several of its philosophic hymns. In the Purusa evolved a part of the existing world. The performer of this cosmogonic sacrifice are 'the gods'—inconsistently, of course, for the gods have already been declared to be secondary to the Purusa, who transcends all existing things. In later Vedic times we repeatedly meet with such ritualistic expressions. They confirm our feeling that we are dealing with priests.

We see from what has just been said to the Purusa hymn that the One—here the Purusa, the cosmic 'person' or 'man' may be regarded as the material source (*causa materialis*) as well as the creator (*causa efficiens*) of the world. All evolves out of it, or is a part of it; but frequently, as in the Purusa hymn, it is *more* than all empiric existence; it transcends all things, which form, or derive from, but a part of it. Again, it is often spoken of as the ruler, controller, or lord of all. Or, it is the foundation, fundament, upon which all is based, which supports all. Still more significant are passages which speak of the One as subtly pervading all, as air or wind pervades the physical universe, and animating all, as the breath of life (*prana*) is regarded as both pervading and animating the human body.

Such expressions as this last lead to a modification, with mitigation of the crudity, of the above-noted parallelism between man, the microcosm, and the universe, the macrocosm, which as we have seen dates from late Rg-Vedic times. In the Purusa hymn of the Rg Veda we find a crude evolution of various parts of the physical universe from parts of the physical body of the cosmic 'Man'. But in the later Vedic texts the feeling grows that man's nature is not accounted for by dissecting his physical body—and, correspondingly, that there must be something more in the universe than the sum total of its physical elements. What is that 'something more' in man? Is it the 'life-breath' or 'life-

breaths' (*prana*), which seem to be and through various parts of the human body and to be and principle of man's life (since they leave the body at death)? So many Vedic thinkers believed. What, then, is the corresponding 'life-breath' of the universe? Obviously the wind, say some. But even this presently seems too physical, too material. On the human side, too, it begins to be evident that the 'life-breath', like its cosmic counterpart the wind, is in reality physical. Surely the essential Man must be something else. What then? Fittingly, here and there, it is suggested that it may be man's desire' or 'will' (*kama*), or his 'mind' (*manas*), or something else of a more or less 'psychological' nature. But already in the Atharva Veda, and with increasing frequency later, we find as an expression for the real, essential part of Man the word *atman* used. *Atman* means simply 'self'; it is used familiarly as a reflexive pronoun, like the German *sich*. One could hardly get a more abstract term for that which is left when everything unessential is deducted from man, and which is at the same time to be considered the principle of his life, the living soul that pervades his being. And, carrying on the parallelism, we presently find mention of the *atman*, self or soul of the universe. The texts do not content themselves with that; they continue to speculate as to what that 'soul' of the universe is. But these speculations tend to become more and more remote from purely physical elements. Increasing partiality is shown for such metaphysical expressions as 'the existent', or 'that which is (*sat*)', or again 'the nonexistent' (*asat*), in the Rig-Vedic hymn 10.129 we were told that in the beginning there was 'neither existent nor non-existent', but later we find both 'the existent' and 'the-existent' used as expressions for the first principle. But perhaps the favourite formula in later Vedic times for the soul of the universe is the originally ritualistic one of the *brahman*.

If we remember the Brahmana principle of identification by mystic knowledge for purposes of magical control, set forth above, we shall now be able to understand the standard answer given in the Upanisads to the question 'With what

shall we identify the one thing, by knowing which all is know?' that answer is: 'With the soul, the *atman*, of the universe. It is *atman*, and my soul, my real self, is also *atman*, then is not the mystic identification ready-made? By 'knowing' the one I may 'know'—*and control*—the other. And surely there is nothing which I control more obviously and perfectly than my own 'self'. If now I 'know' that the *brahman*, which is the *atman* of the universe, is my own *atman*, then not only do I control the fundamental principle of the universe, because knowledge is magic power; but even more than that, I *am* the fundamental principle of the universe, by mystic identification. For this double reason, there is nothing beyond my grasp. Thus the knowledge of the One which is All, and its identification with the human soul, is a short-cut to the satisfaction of all desires, the freedom from the fear and danger and sorrow.

Brahmanas

The word Brahmanas is used in the sense of explanation of sacred verse or rik, in Satapatha XII, 5,2,8 (यथर्कथा ब्राह्मणम्). The word Bandhu is similarly used for explanation of Yajuh (यथा यजुस्तथा बन्धुः S'. VI, 6.4). The various Brahmanas were the basis on which the Sarvanukramanis were subsequently framed. The authors of many suktas in the Rigveda are thus given in various places in the Brahmanas; e.g. वामदेवः अवैक्षत (Tandya); एतत्कवपः सूक्तमपश्यत् पंचदशर्चम् (Kau.) गौरिवीति शाक्त्य एतत्सूक्तमपश्यत् (Aita.). We have already noted how Satapatha (II,1,4,29) refers to the sukta of Sarparajni आयं गौः etc. (X 189). Tandya 4,7,3 refers to इन्द्रं क्रतुं न आभर etc. (R VI32,26) as seen by Vasishtha. It is, however, we think, not possible that the Brahmanas give all the information required for Sarvanukramanis, not even Nirukta, nor the Sutas. The whole information must have been handed down orally till collected together in Anukramanis.

Certain Brahmanas are called Anubrahmanas, a name occurring even in Panini (IV, 2, 62). The small Brahmanas are

Anubrahmanas. Even the Taittiriya Brahmana, contains some Anubrahmanas. I.6.11, I says अनुब्राह्मणं च भवति Madhava in his Bhashya on T.B. has अथ राजसूयस्यानुब्राह्मणम्.

Of these smaller Brahmanas, Mantra Brahmana with two Prapathakas and sixteen Kandas is also called Chhandogya Brahmana. It gives Mantras only from the Vedas. (The Upanishad probably belongs to this Brahmana). From Sankara's remark on Vedanta Sutra 3-3-25, it seems that he treats this Upanishad as forming part of the Tandya Brahmana (ताण्डिना श्रुतिः). There is a Daivata (Samaveda) Brahmana, published by Jivananda Vidyasagara, there is a Chhandovichiti Brahmana, referred to by Panini is Ganapatha 4-3-43 wherein descriptions of chhandas are given. There is an Arsheya Brahmana containing 3 Prapathakas and 82 Khandas wherein the Rishis of Samaveda are given. The Samavidhana Brahmana (published by Burnell, London) consisting of 3 Prapathakas and 25 Khandas gives the Viniyoga or uses of the several Samans, some of which are for Abhichara (magic). There is a Sanhitopanishad published by Burnell (Mangalore).

They had not the right to perform the sacrifices (T.S. VII, 1,1,6). But Kavasha Ailusha was originally a Sudra who composed a Sukta and became a Rishi (A.B. VI, 5).

The Brahmanas of the Rigveda: The most important is the Aitareyabrahmana, in 40 adhyaya and 8 "pentads" (panchika), the 7th and 8th and perhaps and 6th of these panchikas having been added later. The author is given as Mahidasa Aitareya. The bulk of the collection, originally the whole of it, deals with the soma sacrifices, the other sacrifices being reserved for a second Brahmana, the Kaushitaki or Shankhayana, in 30 adhyaya, which was compiled later and repeats the description of the soma (Keith). More systematic than the Aitareya, this Brahmana derives from a common tradition which must have been subject to later modification. The discussions of these two texts give the impression of something "harmonious and refined" (S. Levi); they concern, in any case,

concrete and technical matters. The Brahmanical exaltation is to be noticed only in the more recent parts of the Aitareya.

The Brahmanas of the Black Yajurveda: The Brahmana portions of the Samhitas, which form more than half the whole, follow the mantra portions exactly, whether these are assembled in a series of verses, or, as is more often the case, they appear in compact groups. The Brahmana portions vary from one Samhita to another as much as, if not more than the mantra portions. In the Taittiriya school an independent text was compiled, the Taittiriyabrahmana, which follows the Samhita of the same name and like that text combines Brahmana and mantra. It contains supplements on the soma rites, on the rajasuya, etc, soma expiatory practices, and some details on the human sacrifice. It is a voluminous work, in three kandas containing respectively 8, 8 and 12 prapathaka, and tradition attributes part of it to the Katha school.

The Satapathabrahmana: The most important and most extensive work in all this literature is the Satapathabrahmana, the "Brahmana of the hundred ways", consisting (whence its name) of 100 "lectures" (adhyaya). The text, which relates to the White Yajurveda, exists in the two known editions of this Veda, that of the Madhyamdina and that of the Kanva, the former in 14 kanda and the second in 17. The two editions show important verbal divergences, at least in the earlier parts. They imply an original, from which both derive by rearrangement (Caland). In the Madhyamdina edition, the first nine books form a continuous commentary on the first 18 sections of the Vajasaneyi; they are earlier than the last five books, which constitute a sort of supplement (Eggeling). The first five books also form a unity of a kind; in them mention is made of Yajnavalkya, who is stated at the end of the XIVth Book to be the author of the whole of the Shatapatha. In VIth to Xth, on the other hand, the authority is Shandilya.

Books I and II deal with vegetable offerings (haviryajna), and the Madhyamdina recension gives the place of honour to

the rite of the Full and New Moon, which is the basis for all the other rites of the same type, while the Kanva recension, following the real sequence, begins with the Agnyadhana and the Agnihotra. There follows the exposition of the Soma sacrifice (including the animal sacrifice which we generally part of it) (Books III and IV), and in the form of an appendix to these the Vajapeya and Rajasuya rites (Book V). The culminating point is the description of the Agnichayana, which occupies Books VI to IX and extends into Book X with the Agnirahasya, "secrets of the fire (altar)". As for the later books, they belong together with the books before VI : first some special remarks on the rites previously described (Books XI and XII), and then the account of the Ashvamedha (XIII) and of the Pravargya (XIV). The second part of Book XIV constitutes an Upanishad. Some domestic rites, such as the Upanayana, are given in the supplementary part.

The work is more elaborate and richer in discussions than the other Brahmanas. The narrations are numerous and often detailed, but always closely connected with the ritual theme. Some passages, especially in Book X, foreshadow the speculations of the Upanishads, and in fact in force or reasoning far surpass them. The Satapatha is the highest achievement of this literature.

The Brahmanas of the Samaveda: Among these are the Panchavimsha, or Brahmana "of the twenty-five" adhyaya, a concise and technical treatise on the rites involving samans and on the nature of the object of the saman; it is also called the Tandymahabrahmana. Another is the Jaiminiya, a voluminous work in three kandas, associated with the Jaiminiya school, which abounds in legends unknown elsewhere, of which some must have a historical foundation. The style is often prolix. The Jaiminiya-Upanishad-Brahmana, which develops the tendency towards a liturgical mysticism, forms a supplement to this work.

Associated with the Samaveda are also a series of minor

Brahmanas or Upabrahmanas, whose contents, which vary greatly, have no relation with those of the Brahmanas, except for the first among them:

- (1) The Sadvimsha, or “twenty-sixty” chapter of the Panchavimsha, of which it forms in effect an appendix, of somewhat miscellaneous contents, principally of a magical nature. There are two reactions.
- (2) The Samavidhana, “rules for the saman”, a kind of treatise on magic, preceded by a collection of expiatory practices which anticipate the material of the classical Daharmasastras.
- (3) The Arsheya, in two recensions, hardly more than a list of names of samans.
- (4) The Devatadhyaya gives the divinities of the samans and other details.
- (5) The Samhitopanished treats of the manner of reciting the verses which are used for the samans.
- (6) The Vamsha enumerates the teachers of the Samaveda, extending over 60 generations.
- (7) As for the Mantrabrahmana or Cchandogya-Brahmana, the first part of an Upanishadbrahmana of which the Cchandogya-Upanishad (see \$69) is the continuation, it is a collection of mantras of diverse origin for the use of the Samaveda schools. Like the Panchavimsha, all these texts are in principle common to the Kauthuma and the Ranayaniya.

The Gopathabrahmana and the Lost Brahmanas: The Gopatha, which is associated with the Atharvaveda, perhaps of the Paippalada school, consists of an “anterior Brahmana” of five prapathakas, and a “posterior Brahmana” of six. At least in the second part it is a collection of more or less literal borrowings from the other Brahmanas. Some parts trench upon the domain of the Upanishads.

In addition to these, a number of others have existed but are

now lost. In some instances fragments have been preserved in manuscript: thus there was a Kathabrahmana, which held the same relation to the Kathaka as the Taittiriya Brahmana has to the Samhita of the same name. The Satyayana, which is often quoted, and of which a large part of the text has recently been found, is almost identical with the Jaiminiya. Quotations from unknown Brahmanas are common in the Vedic, philosophical and legal literature (B.Ghosh). The existence of many other texts can be deduced from particular indications: thus according to Caland the Kaushikasutra presupposes a Brahmana distinct from the Gopatha,

The Dates: No precise dating is possible at present. The tendency is to regard the Brahmanas as defining a "period", which may have been of long duration. If this is so, the period must necessarily have come after that of the Samhitas, and its limits can be fixed by reference to earlier and later texts; hence we should be inclined to place it in the Xth to VIIth centuries. Not only is the grammar decidedly "modern", but the geographical references and the religious and even social conditions show an evolution beyond the stage of the mantra. However, it has sometimes been argued that the Brahmana portions of the Yajurveda are contemporaneous with the mantra portions, and even (Caland) that part of the Vajasaneyi was put together after the corresponding part of the Satapatha. In any case all these texts presuppose the existence of the codified Rigveda, from which they borrow hymns in blocks.

\$57. If account is taken of form, borrowings and quotations, the relative chronology of the Brahmanas can be fixed with some certainty. The Brahmanas of the Black Yajus are usually placed first, the Taittiriya after the Samhita of the same name. Then comes the Aitareya (older parts) and then follows the Kaushitaki. It is possible, however, that the larger Brahmanas of the Samaveda preceded the Aitareya; the Jaiminiya, according to Caland, coming before the Panchavimsha. The Satapatha is definitely more recent, and its two recensions

are of about the same period, though Caland notes an influence of the Madhyamdina on the Kanva. Last come the Gopatha and the minor texts.

The Form: There are great differences between the older and the more modern texts: there are even portions in surtra style. Nevertheless broadly it is possible to speak of a form or style of the Brahmanas, which is like nothing else in Indian literature. The thought moves in set forms : (a) the sacrificer does (says) this, because in the world (among the gods) such a procedure is in force, or rather (b) this is why such a procedure is in force; (c) this element of the sacrifice (in consequence of an irrational identity) is such and such a cosmic or psychic element : if one set it in motion one acts on the corresponding element, or rather appropriates it (Oldenberg). The question is asked what would happen if one performed the act in a way other than that prescribed. The opinion of a theologian is discussed, and is rejected or praised with about equal frequency. The comparisons though relatively rare, are correspondingly more typical and sometimes striking. There are many narrative digressions, which claim to derive from a myth an interpretation applicable to the practice under discussion, but the narration, which is usually rudimentary, quickly turns back to commentary. There are also paraphrases of verse, and etymological explanations which are dominated by the desire to establish a mystical root, to extract an esoteric form from a common word. There are finally verses of a sententious or epic (gatha) character, and panegyrics (narashamsi).

The contents : Stories: The stories (itihasa or akhyana) are of various kinds. A number of legends outlined in the Veda are found here, more fully developed and often "sacerdotalised". Others anticipate the stories of the epics and Puranas. There are many allusions to battles between gods and Asuras. There is a whole folklore of local or personal legends, anecdotes about sages, practices, melodies more or less distantly reflecting historical realities.

Calendar

The term "Vedic Calendar" may appear at the outset to be an anachronism, for the reason that there are no clear references to any kind of calendar in the Vedas proper. Even in the Brahmanas, references to a calendar are so vague that it is hardly possible to form a clear conception of the precise nature of the calendar that was in use. But coming to the Sutras, especially those of the Samaveda, we find precise data to determine the various systems of calendar in observance during the Sutra period. One might, therefore, be led to think that the term "Sutraic Calendar" would be preferable to that of "Vedic Calendar." But it should be borne in mind that the various systems of calendar described in the Sutras are not the result of an observation of the heavens in a day, but are the outcome of the experience gained and adjustment made by many successive calculators of time. Nor are allusions to a calendar altogether wanting even in the Vedas. The description of the New Years Day as occurring on the Ekashtaka day, i.e., the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Magha (corresponding to December—January) in the times with which we are dealing, as well as the distinct references to a thirteenth month which must necessarily have been an additional month intercalated for the purpose of

keeping the beginning of the year more or less close to its natural time, go a long way to prove that the Vedic poets kept a statematised calender based upon scientific principles. The beginning of the year on the Ekasthaka day is thus described in the Atharvaveda, III, 10:—

- “(1) She first shone out; she became a milch-cow at Yama’; let her, rich in milk, yield (*duh*) to us each further summer!
- “(2) The night which the gods rejoice to meet as a milch-cow coming unite them, which is the spouse (*patni*) of the year, let her be very auspicious to us!
- “(3) Thou, O night, whom we worship as model (*pratima*) of the year; do thou unto us long-lived progeny with abundance of wealth.
- “(4) This same is she that first shone out; among these other ones she goes about, having entered; great greatnesses are within her; the bride (*vadhu*), the new generatrix hath conquered.
- “(8) Hither hath come the year, the spouse, O sole Ashtaka; do thou unite our long lived progeny with abundance of wealth!
- “(13) Thou whose son is Indra, whose son is Soma, daughter art thou of Prajapati; fully thou our desires; accept our oblation!”

A similar hymn with important variations is also found in the Yajurveda, Taittiriya-Samhita, IV. 3.11:

इयमेव सा या व्यौच्छंतरस्यां चरति प्रविष्टा ।
 वधूर्जजान नवगज्जनित्री त्रय एनां महिमानस्सचंते ॥१॥

छंदस्वती उपसा पेपशाने त्रय एनां योनिमनु संचरंति ।
 सूर्यपत्नी विचरतः प्रचानती केतुं कृष्णाने अजरंति ॥२॥

ऋतस्य पंथामनु तिस्र आगु स्रयो धर्मासो अनु ज्योतिषागुः ।
 प्रजामेका रक्षत्यूर्जमेका व्रतमेका रक्षति देवयूनाम् ॥३॥

चतुष्टोमो अभवद्या तुरीया यज्ञस्य पक्षावृषयो भवन्ती ।
गायत्री त्रिष्टुभं जगतीमनुष्टुभं बृहदकं युञ्जानाः सुवराभरन्निदम् ॥४॥

पंचभिर्धाता विदधोवदं यत्तासां स्वसदृटरजनयत् पंच पंच ।
तामासु यति प्रयवेण पंच नानारूपाणी ऋतवो वसानाः ॥५॥

त्रिंशत्स्वसार उपयंति निष्कृतं समानं केतुं प्रतिमुंचमानाः ।
ऋतुस्तन्वते कवयः प्रजानतीः मध्ये छंदसः परियंति भास्वतीः ॥६॥

ज्योतिष्मती प्रतिमुच्यते नभो रात्री देवी सूर्यस्य व्रतानि ।
वि परयंति-पशवो जायमाना नानारूपा मातुरस्या उपस्थे ॥७॥

एका टका तपसा तप्यमादा जजान गर्भं महिमानभिद्रम् ।
तेन दस्यून व्यसंहत देवा हंतासुराणामभवच्छचीभिः ॥८॥

अनानुजामनुजा मामकर्त सत्यं वदत्यन्विच्छ एतद्भूयासम् ।
अस्य सुमतौ यथा यूयमन्या वो अन्यामति मा प्रयुक्त ॥९॥

अभून्मम सुमतौ विश्ववेदा आष्ट प्रतिष्ठामविदद्धि गाधम् ।
भूयासमस्य सुमतौ यथा यूयमन्या वो अन्यामति मा प्रयुक्त ॥१०॥

पंच व्युष्टीरनु पंच दोहा गां पंचनाम्नीमृतवोऽनु पंच ।
पंचदिक्षः पंचदशेन कलून्ताः समानमूर्ध्नीरभिलोकमेलम् ॥११॥

ऋतस्य गर्भः प्रथमा व्युष्यप्पामेका महिमानं बिभर्ति ।
सूर्यस्यैका चरति नि कृतेषु धर्मस्यैका सवितैकां नियच्छति ॥१२॥

या प्रथमा व्यौच्छत्सा धेनुरभवद्यमे ।
सा नः पयस्वती धुस्वोत्तरामुत्तरां समाम् ॥१३॥

शुक्रर्षभा नभसा ज्योतिषावाद् विश्वरूपा स्रबलीरग्निकेतुः ।
समानमर्थं स्वपस्यमाना पिभ्रती जरामजर अप आगाः ॥१४॥

ऋतुनां पत्नी प्रथमेयमागादहां नेत्री जनित्री प्रजानाम् ।
एका सती बहुघोषी व्युच्छस्यजीर्णा त्व जरयसि सर्वमन्यत् ॥१५॥

“(1) It is she that first shone out; having entered into this (earth), she goes about; (like) a birde, newly married (to the New Year,), she has become the generatrix (of the days that follows); three are the great lights that associate with her.

(2) Extolled in metres, these two shining dawns, coming out

- of the same womb, and being the wives of the sun, go about all-knowing, making a flag, free from old age, and impregnated with abundant seed.
- “(3) Three dawns have reached the path of the sacrifice; three lights (the fire, the sun, and the moon) have also approached it; of them, one protects the offspring, one the vigour, and one the rite of those who like to please the gods.
- “(4) She who is the fourth has passed into the four sets of Sama-chants (nine-versed, fifteen-versed, seventeen-versed, and twenty-one-versed, chants), maintaining the two wings (halves) of the sacrifice (i.e., the year) as known to the sages, and giving rise to the Great Litany composed of Gayatri, Trishtubh, Hagati, and Anushtubh metres; and she has preserved this heaven (the solstice).
- “(5) With five (*days*) the Creator has made this; he has also created five and the five sisters of them; taking various forms and being clothed in sacrificial splendour, five of them run with great speed.
- “(6) Thirty sisters (*days*) partake of the rite, spreading out the same flag; they make the seasons; being wise and all-knowing and residing in the metres, they go about with great splendour.
- “(7) Clothed in splendour, this shining night takes to herself the rites addressed to the sun above: even the various kinds of beasts, on awakening, see her on the lap of this mother (the earth).
- “(8) This eighth day, bearing the troubles of pregnancy, has brought forth this great Indra; with his help the good repelled the enemies: in virtue of his own might, he has become the destroyer of the Asuras.
- “(9) O sole Ashtakas, ye gave a sister to me hitherto without a sister; ye speak the truth; listen to this this prayer: just as ye are pleased with the behaviour of this (*Indra*), so

may ye be pleased with mine; do not send me away to any one else!

“(10) This all-knowing dawn stepped into my mind and has taken a firm hold of it; just as ye are pleased with this (*Indra*), so may ye be pleased with me; do not send me away to any one else;

“(11) The five mornings, the five milkings, and the five seasons follow the cow with five names; the five quarters regulated by the fifteen-versed chants and possessed of the same characteristics as the five mornings follow this single light (the dawn).

“(12) (*Of the five mornings*) the first is the womb of the dawn: one bears the magnificence of the waters; one presides at the rites addressed to the sun; one presides over the heat: and one the sun controls.

“(13) She that first shone out has become a cow at Yama's; let her, rich in milk, yield to us each further summer!

“(14) Foremost among the lights, clothed in brilliant splendour, has arrived this illuminating dawn with various colours, like a flag of the sacrificial fire; O ever youthful dawn, conducive to the performance of unchanging rites, and grey with old age, thou hast arrived!

“(15) The wife of the seasons, the first (*dawn*) has arrived leading the days and being the mother of creatures; though one, thou hast become many; free from old age, thou causest the rest to grow old.”

Likewise the Tandyamahabrahmana describes the Ekashtaka as the wife of the year: -V.92.

एषा वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकाष्टका, एतस्यां वा गतां रात्रि
वसति, साक्षादेव तत्संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षते।

“What is called the Ekashtaka (*day*) is the wife of the year, when the night of this day arrives, (*prajapati*) lies with her. Hence, commencing with the (*true*) beginning of the year,

(*sacrifices*) observe the rite of initiation.”

The important points to be particularly noticed in the above passages are (1) the beginning of the year, probably solar, on the eighth day of the dark half of the month Magha; (2) the designation of this day by such names as ‘a cow’, ‘dawn,’ ‘Prajapati’s daughter, and ‘Surya’; (3) the association or a kind of secret marriage of the dawn with three lights, the fire, the moon, and the sun, as pointed out by Sayana in his commentary on verse 1; (4) the birth of the days of the following year or cycle of years, as well as of Indra and Soma from the marriage of the dawn with the sun; (5) the celebration of the dawn by the four well-known Sama-chants; namely, the nine-versed chants, the fifteen versed chant, the seventeen-versed chant, and the twenty-one-versed chant, each of which is, as we shall see, intended to signify as many intercalary days as the number of verses contained in it; (6) the destruction of enemies and Asuras brought about by Indira, the son of the dawn.

As regards the first point, it is true that we are told nowhere in the Vedas themselves that the word Ekashataka means the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Magha; still, on the authority of Apastamba and other Sutra-writers, who have defined it as such, we may take it to mean that particular day. From the next three points we have to understand that at the commencement of every year or cycle of years, it was the usual custom with the Vedic poets to celebrate symbolical marriage of the New Year’s Day with the sun in order to enable the new year to beget its 720 children, i.e., its days and nights, or in other words, to perpetuate an auspicious flow of time for themselves. This seems to be the sum and substance of the celebrated marriage hymns, in which the marriage procession of Surya or the dawn to be wedded to the sun is the subject of a long and mystic description, and which are even now recited on the occasions of marriages performed as a rule after the winter solstice and before the

summer solstice. The recognition of the dawn first by Soma, the moon, next by Gandharva, one of the 27 *nakshatras*, then by Agni, and lastly by men, seems to signify the association of the dawn first with the synodic lunar year of 354 days, next with the sidereal lunar year of 351 days containing 13 months each of 27 days corresponding to the 27 *nakshatras* or Gandharvas, then with the Savana year of 360 days dedicated to the sacrificial fire-god from whom the dawn or the twenty-first day, based upon the difference between the Savana year and the Julian solar year of 365¼ days, is believed to have come under the protection or observance of men. The fact of making the dawn the object of praise in the Chatushtomas or four sets of Sama-chants seems to render probable the above explanation of the two obscure verses of the marriage hymn. The five mornings which are said to precede the brilliant dawn in verse 11 seem to be five days added after the end of the Savana year. As regards the destruction of enemies and Asuras by Indra, we shall presently see that they are not real enemies or Asuras, but intercalary days regarded as such.

Thus, while the Yajurveda connects the mornings and the mystic cows with the Chatushtomas, thereby implying the final number of intercalary days to the twenty-one, their number is distinctly stated as three times seven in the Sama-veda.

Contract, Law of

The law of contract binds men who accept it spontaneously. Temporarily and regulated their mutual relationship. Such a contract is heard of as early as the RV. ("A mandan stoman prabhare manisa Sindhavadhi ksiyato Bhavyasya... satam kaksivam asurasya gonam divi sravo jaama tatana) which refer to a contract between Bhavayavya and Kaksivan that the latter would prepare 'stoma' for the former and for this the latter would pay the former a hundred niskas, horses and oxen. The second *rc* shows how Kaksivan accepted (adam) the

promised things from Bhavayavya on the performance of his duty as per contract. "Tanunaptra" in AB (Being. ed. pp. 86-87) refers to actions as personal bonds even among gods. The transaction of a sale or purchase was also determined by the law of contract, as evidenced by the rc ("Bhuyasa vasnam-acharat-kaniyo vikrito vikrito akanisam punar-yan/ sa bhuyasa kaniyo parirechid-dina daksa vi duhanti pre vanma//) which states that one bid a small price for a thing of value, he went to the purchaser and told that the thing was not sold and demanded a higher price. But that seller could not get a higher amount from the purchaser. Men, capable or incapable get whatever is agreed upon at the time of purchase. Thus we learn that once the bargain is made, that is binding on both the purchaser and seller and there is no other alternative both the purchaser and seller and there is no other alternative left. The next rc (Kaimam dasabhir-mamendram krinati dhenubhih/ yada vrtrani janghanadathainam as a temporary transaction by which the purchaser becomes the owner of the thing for a temporary period only for a specific purpose. When the purpose is fulfilled, he has to return the thing.

This rc means: "who will purchase this (image of) Indra from me for ten cows? (on condition) when he would kill the Vrtras (the enemies), the buyer would return it to me." Vamadeva, the Rsi brought Indra into his possession by much praise and when about to dispose of him, he wanted to make a contract with the buyer that the latter must have to return the things, when the purpose is served. Mention may be made of the fact that the image of Indra to be used a fetish was not to be sold even for a hundred, a thousand or a myriad. ("mahe chana tvamadrivah para sulkaya deyam/na sahasraya nayutaya vajriva na satya stamagha"). The term sulka, used here means 'price' of the thing concerned, as good as 'vasna' used in the above-mentioned rc. In purchase, if nothing is specifically noted, the unit of value was evidently, the cow, as noted in the above rc. Sometimes, 'hiranyam' and 'satamanam' are found to be used to denote 'soma standard' other than cows, though

the learned authors of the Vedic Index suggest that these “might in all these passages be rendered as “gold worth a hundred cows. “The VS. (xxx) and TB (III.4) give us a long list of technical workers is a village who might have been paid not by any sum but by fixed allowances, as agreed upon.

The Vedic literature refers little to any law of deposit. The AV. (xxx.48.1) (atho yani cha yasma ha yasma ha yaniu chantah parinahi/tani te pari dadmasi//) means: “Now then what things we note, or what things are within the box, those things we commit to three”. The next verse’ (Ratri matarusase nah pari dehi) means again: “Entrust thus us to Dawn, O mother Night”. From the above two verses we learn of something of trust prevailing among Vedic Aryans. The term ‘paridanam’ (pari + da) means deposit or trust of an article to somebody else, i.e., gift for a fixed period to be returned in future. Another term ‘nidhi’ is met with in the Rv.(1.183-4—“ime vam nidhaya madhunam”; vii, 67, 7—“nidhir-hito madhvi”) in the sense of place of deposit or deposit or store and then treasure (Rv. ii, 24, 6; viii, 29,6; x.68.6 and AV., x, 7,23); and in the sense of some sort of science in Chand. Upa. (vii, 1,2,4). The SB (1.1.) shows how a contract was sanctified with a ceremonial practice: “He who is about to enter on the vow, touches water,... enters on the vow with the text — “Op Agni, Lord of the vows, I will keep the vows, may I be equal to it, may I succeed in it.” The AB (N.3) indicates the same practice and speaks of inviolability of the contract. The SB (1.1.1.3) shows how one divests oneself of the vow after the completion of the vow and it discourages the idea of contracting with any body and every body.

Cosmic House

In many hymns of the *Rg-Veda*, the idea of world-creation is conveyed more in a poetic than in a philosophic manner. Thus, now one god, now another, is declared as the ‘builder’ of the Universe. The origin of the world is ascribed to a process of

mechanical production in which the artistic skill of the 'architect' is called into play. Thus Indra, Visnu, Varuna or a like god is represented, in turn, as the artisan-god who fashioned out through his skill this wondrous piece of architecture—the world. The metaphor of building, in its diverse details, is here pressed into service. The verses dealing with the subject are replete with poetic beauty, the style being justly figurative. The rudiments of the science of Architecture—as of sciences like Geometry, Astronomy and Medicine—could be culled out of the Rg-Vedic description of the "Cosmic Structure". It calls up before our minds the conception of a building with the varying processes involved in its construction; for reference is made in the verses to the measurement, laying the foundation, raising the props and fixing the superstructure. We shall now see, with reference to the relevant verses, how the Rg-Veda-poet viewed the world as the work of an artisan-god.

The *act of measuring* is referred to in many a Rg-Vedic hymn while dealing with the construction of the "Cosmic House". Any one of the well-known Vedic pantheon takes up the role of the measurer. Thus is it declared that Soma measured out the six expanses; Visnu, Varuna and Savitr the earthly regions; Pitrs, the two worlds; and Agni the aerial space and the bright realms of heaven. The verb */ma* ordinarily denotes this action.

The *measuring apparatus* is the rod (*matra* or *mana*); but, sometimes the Sun takes its place. Thus, with measuring rods, the Pitrs measured the two worlds and made them broad, Indra does the work with measures (*mana*). But Varuna measures the earth with the Sun—a process, which to us remains almost an enigma.

The *measurement begins*, normally, in front or the east. 'Indra measures, as it were a house, with measures from the front.'

Closely allied to the idea of measuring is that of *spreading*

òut the earth expressed mostly through the veb /*prath* and rarely through /*han* (to beat out flat) and /*tan*. The act is attributed to Indra, Varuna, Agni. The spreading of the earth and heaven is sometimes likened to the spreading of a skin - a fact which incidentally points to the Rg-Vedic ARyan's habit of hunting wild animals for their skin, which he used to spread out for drying.

That *the material, of construction* was conceived as wood is implied in a verse which purports to question the nature of the wood and the tree to which earth and heaven were fashioned. The answer to this query, nowhere given in the Rg-Veda, is, in the Taittiriya Brahmana, broached in a philosophic vein; but, it is quite doubtful whether it was the very answer which the inquiring poet expected.

Heaven and earth and often described as having been supported (/dhar, /stabh, / skabh and /stha) (causal) with posts (*skambha* and *skambhana*). Sometimes an abstract quality like craft (*maya*), eternal law (*dharma*), greatness (*mahi*, *mahas*) or might (*sahas*) pertaining to the gods concerned, serves as an effective prop. Soma, Indra, Visnu, Varuna or Brhaspati is thus lauded as the mighty supporter. But Agni is poetically described as supporting the sky with his column-like smoke or with his mantras lie a magician!

What strikes that poet with extreme wonder is the sight of the vast sky, which *thought rafterless*, ever remains 'in situ' —a monument, no doubt, of unique engineering skill!

Ata is the *framework of a door*'. On such a frame of heaven has Indra fixed the air.

The door of the "Cosmic House" are described in many a 'Dawn-hymn' as the portals of the east through which the goddess emerges to greet us with her morning light.

The reference to the foundation and the fixing thereof through varied devices, is no rare phenomenon in the hymns. With

bands, Savitr made the earth firm; Visnu fixed it with pages; and Brhaspati supports its ends.

The idea of decoration seems to have been hinted at in the poet's description of the 'Cosmic House'. It was gracefully decked. The Pitrs give the finishing decorative touch to earth and heaven as we do to a house with an attractive paint.

The agents in the construction of the "Cosmic Structure", are the gods, individual or collective. But where special professional skill is in demand, the master-artisan Tvastr and the deft-handed Rbhus lend their help.

World-genesis as the outcome of a process of mechanical production is thus described poetically in the Rg-Veda. References to one aspect or other involved in the process of "world-building" are not absent in other pieces of kindred literature—Avestan, hebraic, Babylonian, Egyptian and Mohammedan; but we may not be presuming too much in maintaining that the earliest literary references to the science of architecture could be traced in these hymns of the Rg-Veda.

D

Dadhica

Among the sages and seers of the past who paved the destiny of the country, Dadhica tops the list. He is well-known for his sacrifice for the suffering humanity. Dadhica (earlier known as Dadhyanc) is pictured as the son of a fire-priest, Atharvan and is regarded as the founder of sacrifice. He first gets Agni, offers Soma sacrifice and prayer to gods. His intimacy with Angiras, Manu etc. speaks of his role as fire-priest (*RV* 6.16.14; I.80.16). He is sometimes included in the group of the Angirasas and at times with the Brargavas. This juxtaposition clearly goes to establish the inherent unity among the Bhrgus, the Angirasas and the Atharvans, the great traditional priestly families of old and the earliest sponsors of fire-cult. Besides this, he is said to have played different roles in the past.

Dadhica is highly praise-worthy for his knowledge is *Madhuvidya* as well as *Pravargyavidya*. *Madhuvidya* (Mead) "knowledge of sweetness" teaches one the mystery of sacrifice i.e., the locality of Soma to be offered in the sacrifice. On the other hand *Pravargyavidya* is an introductory ceremony to the Soma-sacrifice in which fresh milk is poured into a heated vessel called *Mahavira* alongwith ghee; the

preparation is known as *gharma*.

There is an interesting episode of Dadhica's attaining the horse-head. The story is traced in the *Rgveda*, the *Satapatha-Brahmana* and the *Jaiminiya-Brahmana* and is referred to in the *Brhaddevata* of Saunaka. But the myth in the *Rgveda* appears to be very short and simple: Indra, the god of heaven taught the science of *Madhuvidya* and *Pravargyavidya* to Dadhica and instructed him to keep it strictly secret, failing which he would lose his head. Once it so happened the Asvins, the twin gods approached Dadhica with a request to impart that secret knowledge to them for their benefit. But when they came to know the dire consequence of default, they replaced his head with a horse's head. Through this head Dadhica imparted that mysterious knowledge of sacrifice to them. Subsequently, when Indra came to know it, he cut off his equine head, but the Asvins restored Dadhica's original head and won his admiration. That equine head which was capable of delivering this secret knowledge of sacrifice was found by Indra in Saryanavat later on. This equine head was utilised by Indra to fashion the terrible weapon *Vajra* for slaying ninety-nine Vritas, his sworn enemies.

Thus the myth of Dadhica attaining the mysterious knowledge and its subsequent development is depicted in the *Rgveda*. The cause of Asvins asking for such mysterious knowledge and the effect is not clear, but same story is elaborated in the Brahmanas like the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (14.1.1; 18-25) and the *jaiminiya-Brahmana* (3.120.128). The tradition is carried by both the Brahmanas with minor variation.

These Brahmanic texts lay down the story of *Madhuvidya* in the context of Cyavana's rejuvenation. The Asvins, who are deprived of getting a share of Soma-drink along with the other gods, were not included in the Vedic pantheon. When Cyavana's wife Sukanya insisted on the rejuvenation of her husband before the Asvins they put certain condition for it. They were prepared to rejuvenate Cyavana provided he helped

them in getting a share in the sacrifice. When Cyavana was rejuvenated the Asvins demanded their reward. Cyavana apprised them how the gods were performing the “headless” sacrifice in the field of Kurus, the mystery of which was only known to Dadhica. Cyavana advised the Asvins to approach Dadhica for the purpose. So that they will be crowned with success. As advised, the Asvins approached Dadhica and requested him to reveal the secret of sacrifice. Dadhica first of all refused to divulge it for fear of Indra. The Asvins persuaded him to reveal them through the head of a horse and Dadhica assented to them. Then they took off his original head and substituted an equine head through which he taught them the “head of sacrifice”. Indra out of wrath beheaded Dadhica’s equine head, but the wise Asvins put on again his own head. The Asvins repaired to the Field of Kurus and bargained with the gods about “the head of sacrifice” in order to achieve the right of drink *Soma*. Ultimately, gods agreed and the Asvins became the priests of the sacrifice and got their in it.

Thus the myth of Dadhica obtaining the horse-head tries to illustrate the importance of the horse-head. The head from which the highest knowledge was issued is believed to possess oracular power and super knowledge. The significance of the horse-head giving rise to a terrible weapon to kill the enemies of Indra mentioned in the *Rgveda* appears to be unknown to the Brahmanas.

The *Mahabharata* weaves out new episodes to glorify Dadhica. Because of the Bhrguisation of the *Mahabharata*, Dadhica, a prosperous sage is related with Bhrgu, the progenitor of the Bhargava race. here Dadhica is pictured as the son of Bhrgu, born of his lustre in penance.

Out of the three versions of the *Mahabharata* dealing with this story, the *Salya-parvan* version appears to be very short. Here Dadhica’s sacrifice of life for the destruction of “the demons” in general and the formation of dangerous weapons



out of his bones for Indra's benefit is referred to. Simultaneously the sage Dadhica considered as the strongest of all creatures, tall as the Himalayas and Indra is always afraid to him due to his lustre. Beside this nothing is said about Dadhica. Rather this version adds an interesting new episode relating to the birth of Sarasvata to Dadhica in the account of pilgrimage of Baladeva.

The story runs: Once Indra sent a beautiful damsel naked Alambusa to divert the attention of Dahica in penance. At the very sight of the damsel Dahica is allured of her charms and his seed fell into the Sarasvati river. The river held the seed in her womb and gave birth to a son named Sarasvata. Years later, during the time of great drought which was continued for twelve years the sage Sarasvata only survived with the food supplied by the river Sarasvati and imparted Vedic lore to the Brahmins.

Thus the *Mahabharata* version seeks to eliminate the horse-head episode and tries to incorporate the birth of Sarasvata instead of discussing Dadhica's ungrudging help for the good of the lord of celestials. At the same time the formation of terrible weapons out of Dadhica's "bones" instead of his "head" which is already said in the *Rgveda* appears to be new one.

The Aranyaka version appears to be the elaboration of the *Salyaparvan* version. But the motif of this myth is the same. At the very outset Lomasa states that the Kalakeyas under the leadership of Vrtra oppressed the celestials. So the celestials repaired to Brahma asking for their protection. Brahma advised them to go to the pious soul Bhargava Dadhica and to ask for his bones. Accordingly, at the request of the gods the sage magnanimously gave up his body for the good of the three worlds. The bones of Dadhica was brought by Visvakarman, the architect of gods, who fashioned a thunderbolt out of his bones and Indra killed Vrtra. But the Kalakeyas escaped and concealed themselves in the ocean.

It was due to the supernatural power of Agastya that the Kalakeyas were rooted out.

Though the motif of Dahica's death is similar with the first version, the form of description appears to be more extensive. And the name of the demon Vrtra who oppressed the gods is newly added to it.

Unlike other two versions the *Santi-parvan* version is more clear and elaborate. The story speaks that while Trisiras or Visvarupa, the son of Tvastr engaged himself in severe austerities in order to strengthen the Asuras, Indra sent some Apsaras to divert his attention. When Visvarupa was too much allured by them, he asked them to stay back. They directly refused due to their previous engagement with Indra. So Visvarupa determined to destroy the gods on that very day. He consumed all the *Soma* with one of his mouths and all the sacrificial foods with his second mouth and through the third one he began to consume the energy of all the gods with Indra at their head. As a consequence all the gods repaired to Brahma in order to get a solution and put forth their grievances. Brahma informed the gods that Dadhica, the noble and virtuous sage of Bhrgu race had earned enough of merits due to severe penance. It would be wise on the part of the gods to approach Dadhica and beg him his bone, which would be very much essential to make a weapon for the destruction of Visvarupa. Accordingly, the gods approached Dadhica and begged him his life for the welfare of the universe. At their request Dadhica gave up his life; Dhata fashioned the weapon thunderbolt (*Vajra*) out of his bones at the assistance of Visnu. Indra killed Visvarupa with the help of that thunderbolt. Vrtra who was born out of the decapitated head of Trisiras head of Trisiras was also killed by Indra with it.

All these accounts centering round Dadhica give a clear-cut description of his glory and significance. In the *Rgveda* the importance of the horse-head from which the mysterious knowledge was issued and gave rise to a terrible weapon for

the destruction of Indra's enemy i.e., ninety-nine Vrtras is depicted. In the Brahmana literature the same episode is elaborated with minor additions and alternations. But in the *Mahabharata* the story takes a different turn and narrates Dadhica's unprecedented sacrifice for the suffering humanity. It is the bones of Dadhica out of which the dangerous weapon *Vajra* was fashioned. The weapon was capable of slaying Indra's sworn enemy Vrtra. The bone of Dadhica was so powerful that it was utilised for ridding the world of the calamity like the oppression of demons. Thus Dadhica became an embodiment of altruistic service.

Dana

Dana, or offering of gifts seems to have occupied one of the foremost places among the virtues mentioned. Apart from the performance of sacrifices, which had the greatest importance of the Vedic people, no other virtue has been so greatly eulogised. Truth and self-control (*brahmacarya*) had different connotation in different context and had, therefore, variable importance, but *dana* in its more definite and concrete sense of gifts, had a uniform emphasis. The principle of non-injury (*ahimsa*) is treated as the basic principle of all virtues in later systems of Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist thought; but *dana* seems to have enjoyed an equal degree of importance in the Vedic period, whereas the former is entirely absent excepting in certain specific forms. The offering of gifts has thus been praised in some of the hymns of the *Rgvedic* and the Brahmanas, which along with the tributes paid to it, adduce arguments in its favour from prudential considerations, too.

RV. X.117 says that the wealth of a charitable person is inexhaustible, while the uncharitable person finds no friend. He who gives to the needy, secures a friend in future. Riches revolve like the wheels of a chariot, so the powerful, knowing this transitoriness of thing, should be generous to the wants of others. He who keeps his food to himself has his sins to

himself. In later times the wife is described as having a share of the good fruits of actions such as the sacrifices of the husband, but not his sins. Even those who have nothing to give can still offer speech (kind words); and the person who speaks is better than one who is silent.

RV.X.117 specifies the nature of the results of specific gifts. Givers generally abide in the sky; the giver of horse lives with the sun, givers of fold attain immortality, bestowers of raiment have long life. Gifts bring food, gold and armour for the giver. Bountiful men neither die nor do they fall into any calamity; they suffer neither wrong nor pain. They obtain victory in the battle-field, a pleasant above and so on. In the (*Tandya Br.* giving up of all possessions has been described in the section on the *Vsisvajit sacrifice with the expectation of gaining them back by certain rites* (*Tandya* 16.5.6).

Though the offering of gifts is thus eulogised, the acceptance of too many fits has been deprecated. If one takes much he is a "swallower of poison". (*Ibid.*, 19.4.10). It has also been said that gifts received may be turned into those 'not received' by the chanting of *samans* (*Ibid.*, 13.7.12-13).

Dana, or the offering of gifts, thus occupied a prominent place in the Vedic period, and it is not out of place to mention here that its concept obtained a fuller and richer form as it developed through the ages. In *Danakhanda* (*Caturvargacintamani*), a detailed and interesting analysis of *dana* is given which shows the great emphasis was laid on it in the Purana and Smṛti literature.

Dasyus

Now we come to the most problematic tribe, that of the Dasyus about which there have various opinions.

The Dasyus and the Dasas are mentioned at various places in the *Rgveda*; and they are differentiated from the Aryans:

“Know the Aryas, and those who are the Dasyus” (I.51.8).

“O wise ‘Wielder of the bolt’! hurl your weapon onto the Dasyu; and cause the strength of the ARyas to increase” (I.103.3; cf. VI.18.3; III.34.9 etc.).

The passages that refer to the Dasyu (singular or plural) and the Dasa are twofold. In some, these foes are presented as on the mythical level, while in others they appear definitely as humans. They are given the epithets “non-sacrificing” (VIII.6.3 *a-yajvan*), “practicing different rituals”, “non-human”, “godless”, “riteless”, and “non-sacrificing” (VIII.70.11 *anyavratam amanusam a-yajvanam a-devayum*; also or cf. X.22.8 *akarmd dasyur abhi no amantuh, anya-vrato amanusah*; IV.16.9 *a-brahman*). Much has been said, in the early stages of Vedic studies, about their being none less or flat-nosed, or that they were black-skinned and evil-tongued, the Sanskrit equivalents of these terms being, respectively, *anasah krsnagarbhah* (and not *krsna-tvacah* as at *The Vedic Age*, p.249) and *mrddhravacah*. Now, the word *anas* does not mean “flat-nosed”, and it has been rendered as “face-less” (RV. V.29.10 “Indra! you have killed, with your weapon, the Dasyus, the *anasah*”, and Sayana, for *anasah*, *asyarahitach*; i.e. *an-asah*, and not *a-nasah*; the word comes nowhere else). The word *krsna-garbhah* does not indicate skins; for *garbha* does not mean “skin”.

We have, however, reference to Indra punishing the *avratas* for Manu, and subjugating the “black skin” (RV.I.130.8 *manave sadad avratan, tvacam krsnam aramdhayat*); likewise the *avratas* are mentioned at one more place, where again the expression *tvacan krsnam* occurs (IX.41.1); but with the expression *tvacam krsnam* we do not have either Dasa or Dasyu. The *Dasih krsna-yonih* are mentioned (II.20.7) being defeated by Indra. But it is not quite clear if they indicated the non-Aryan tribes; or, who they were is yet a dark point. The epithet *mrddhravac* comes for Puru also, as we have noted earlier, and for other Aryans; Yadu and Turvasa

are themselves called Dasa, though it is absolutely clear that they both were the Aryans (X.62.10 "Indeed, the Dasas, Yadu and Turvasa are themselves called Dasa, though it is absolutely clear that they both were they Aryans (X.62.10 "Indeed, the Dasas, Yadu and Turvasa, of equal benevolence and endowed with cattle, give cows to Manu Savarni"). This will indicate that these were either reproached or had fallen in status. At another place we have Indra saying."I have deprived the Dasyus of their appellation of Arya" (X.49.3). This would indicate that the Dasas of the Dasyus were equally civilized (*arya*), though the Aryans did not accept this fact, as they followed a different faith, not to say that they were atheists.

But, they were rich; and among individuals Iibisa, Cumuri, Chuni, Pipru, Sambara and Varcin are mentioned as affluent. They had *pur*-type of residence (II.20.8 "After killing the Dasyus (Indra) toppled the citadels made of *ayas*", *hatvt Dasyun pura ayasir atarit*). With all this it is ensure if the Dasas or the Dasyus were decidedly non-Aryans. The word *dasa* had, in the Vedic language, the sense of "servant", thus, Vasistha calls himself a *dasa* of Varuna (VII.86.7 "May I serve the god like a *dasa* a lord", *daso na milhuse karani*). It is proposed that they were the first Aryan settlers, and had developed a different way of life (Das, p.154). It has also been suggested that the Dasyus were Aryan settlers who dwelt in the cities, as against the vast majority of the Aryans who lived in the villages surrounding the cities; the formers controlled the village-life and also the water-sources; the villge-Aryan rose in revolt against their afffluent clan brothers. This stage was the Indus valley stage (Buddhaprakash, p. 83-98).

The view is weak, firstly because it goes against the *Danastrutis* ("gift-praises") wherein only very rich kings are mentioned as giving large and varied gifts to the priest; moreover, the emergence of the rich priestly class shows that the Vedic ritual aspect was supported more by the rich sacrificers rather than the poor. This would mean that, in

fact, those who stood against the so-called Dasas or Dasyus were rich king and not poor villagers. Secondly, the identity of the people of the Indus valley and the Rgvedic Aryans is yet an open question; for the seals do not answer the descriptions of the Vedic gods from the *Rgveda*. (Dange, *Hindu Dharma and Tattvajnana*, Poona, 1973, ch. II).

As such, the identification of the Dasa and the Dasyus has yet to be satisfactorily presented. It is equally difficult to accept that Divodasa was the first Dasa hero (in spite of the very brilliant dissertation of Buddhaprakash, p.97). But, whosoever the Dasas or the Dasyus might be, the *Rgveda* records at one place that one real Dasa king performed a Vedic sacrifice and gave sumptuous daksina to his priest, the scion of the Kanva family. His name was Balbutha (RV. VII.46.32 "The *vipra* gained from Balbutha the Dasa and Taruksha a hundred gifts").

Death, Philosophy of

One who is born must die but the question arises: What is death? We know what it is to live because we have been born and are living. We do not know about death because we have not died yet. And when anyone dies, he does not return to life to tell us what it was like to die. And still the curiosity to know about death remains.

It is unfortunate that our entire life is controlled by the idea of death which we have accepted as an inevitable truth. The fear of death is hidden in all actions of our life. We eat and drink only because we are afraid that if we don't, we will have to face death. We have a family, we produce children because we fear if there is no one to look after us in old age, we will be helpless. We enter upon business, we earn huge sums of money—why? It is only because we want to overcome the feeling of insecurity. What is it except the will to survive? What for are the armed forces and police the will to survive? What for are the armed forces and police

deployed? Their deployment in every country in the world indicates that every one is in the grip of fear—the individuals, the society, the country. Every one is trying to save oneself from extinction. All the countries have joined to form the Security Council to ensure that one country may not devour the other.

On observing that one animal preyed upon another to preserve its life led Darwin (1809-1882) to formulate the evolutionary theory of survival of the fittest. The weaker goes to the wall. The survival theory, according to him, works everywhere—an animal and human world. The bigger fish swallows the smaller fish, the bigger nation swallows the smaller and weaker nation. There is a struggle for existence going on. In other words, death rules the world in an impervious way.

Echoing the same spirit *Shri Krishna* has said in the *Gita* (11-32):

कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रवृद्धः
लोकान् समाहर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तः॥

Time am I, world destroyer Time am I.

The Slayer Time, now ready for the destruction of these people.

It appears that from every corner '*Kal*' (death) is running towards a man with open mouth to devour him. It has been rightly said that it is not a wonder that man is alive—the wonder is that despite Death chasing him from every side, he is still alive.

We are happy when a child is born. We rejoice over its birth. But we forget that ever since that birth, he is heading towards Death, every moment of his existence is taking him nearer to Death. When it reaches the end of this rugged and difficult journey, he finds nothing but Death.

Famous English poet Lord Tennyson (1809-1892) has described Nature as 'red in tooth and claw'.

Death is inevitable. Since death is inevitable, all our efforts are directed at combating it. The child begins to cry soon after its birth, and it cries, in fact, to convey that unless it is fed with milk, it will die. The child cries because it wants to live. It does not want to die.

We try to push back death by two means: Our first effort is in the form of amassing all physical resources, such as, wealth, house and other articles which are helpful in maintaining life. Besides these physical resources which are external means of maintaining life we also try to exploit all internal resources and equip ourselves to meet the difficulties of life by proper education and developing our potential ability to face the odds against life. It is all done to ensure that we may survive.

In addition to these external and internal means of maintaining life, we made use—of social means, such as marriage, personal contacts, friendship, insurance and other security measures which are helpful in strengthening our will to survive.

Our second effort to combat Death is to ignore it, to forget it. For instance, the graveyards and funeral grounds are situated outside the city far away from the residential colonies so that we may not be reminded of death too often.

When some kith or kin or our friend dies, we console him by saying that every body has to die, and so the best thing one can do is to forget the departed one.

Once a woman came to *Mahatma Buddha* (563-483 BC). She was very restless and disturbed because of her son's death and sought peace at the feet of the master. *Lord Buddha* promised to help her provided she brought milk from a family in which no one had died. Wherever, the poor woman went to take milk, she found to her dismay and surprise that some one or the other has died in the family. She returned without milk. *Lord Buddha* said, "Everyone has to die, no one can escape death, the only way to overcome suffering on this account is to accept its inevitability and to forget it."

According to Vedic Philosophy, there is no such thing as death. Death does not exist, it is false notion. We can get rid of this notion by true knowledge about it. To do this we must first know what death: body or soul?

- (a) *It is only the Body that Dies* : We have mentioned at many places in this book that body and soul are two separate entities. Neither body is soul nor soul is body. Soul exists independent of the body. It is only the body which is subjected to birth or death. That which is born that alone will die. Soul manifests itself in the body. It is the body and not the soul which undergoes changes. It is the body which has Childhood, Youth and Old age. The soul remains the same throughout. When a man grows old, wrinkles appear on his face, cannot walk properly, spends his days lying in bed who is it that says: it is better now to die? Diseases overpower a person. At last comes old age. These events come to convince man, to make him feel that this body which strode the earth with the courage of a lion has become diseased, has become old, has become useless, unworthy to be retained, and deserves to be cast off. Who is it who wants to cast it off—this unless diseased body? The one who is eager to cast it off is independent of the body. It is not that one who is independent of the body that dies, it is the body that dies, and that one whom the body belonged lives on.

The death of the body starts from the day it comes into being. Somebody has rightly said:

गाफिल तुझे घड़ियाल यह देता है मुनादी
गर्द ने घड़ी उम्र की इक और घटा दी।

Oh thou forgetful one! take heed that the stroke of the clock reminds thee that the dispenser of thy destiny hath cut short thy life by another hour.

Whitin our body our cells are dying every second and are

being replaced by other living cells. While the death of the body starts from the very day of birth, there is some power behind this disintegration of the body which remains unaffected. While the cells die or the body passes through such stages as childhood, youth or old age, that power does not undergo change, and keeps continuity in the discontinued cells of the body. It is the body that suffers disease, not this power; it is the body that ages, not this power; it is the body that dies, not this power.

If that is so, why is it that one says: I have become old when the body becomes old" and why is it that everyone says: that person is dead while it is only his body that is dead?

There is an a reason for it. If we try to break the cover of an unripe coconut, its kernel will also break. But when it is fully ripe, the kernel will fall off separately. Are the kernel and its cover the same? Even an idiot knows that they are separate. But so long as the coconut is unripe, the cover and the kernel are very closely identified with each other. When the coconut is ripe, both the cover and the kernel are totally separated and come in their real form. This is the relationship of the body and the soul. We have already discussed that the body and the soul are separate. But till we begin to realise it is our life, we behave like the unripe coconut, treating the body and the soul identical.

According to the *Vedic* thought, the body is like the cover of the soul which is its kernel. When the body is destroyed, the soul remains unaffected. As the coconut takes time to ripen, so also man takes time to mature in his realisation. The old age is like ripening of a coconut. It is in old age that our experience convinces us that body and soul are entities apart and they should be treated as such for right understanding.

(b) *The Soul Never Dies* : Only the body dies and not the soul. It is not something meant only for academic discussions. There have been great men who realised

that the body was mortal, the soul immortal. They realised that while their body died, their soul lived on.

While *Bhagat Singh* (1907-1931) was being taken for the gallows, his face brightened up. His weight had increased during confinement in jail. There was something within him which inspired him with the idea that while his body will be hanged, his soul will continue to live for ever.

When *Ram Prasad Bimal* (1897-1927) was being hanged, there was smile on his face and put the nose of the rope around his neck with great joy and started singing.

When the Muslim King *Allauddin* (1296) of Khilji dynasty wanted to make *Padmini* his own after the death of her husband, kind of Chittor, *Raja Ratna Sen*, she resisted his overtures by sacrificing herself in a fire with the body of her husband in her lap with joy.

The forces of the Moghul king *Akbar* (1542-1605) attacked *Chittorgarh* in 1567. At that time, *Uday Singh*, the father of *Rana Partap Singh* was the ruler. He ran away from *Chittorgarh* entrusting the defence operations of *Jaimall* and *Phatta*. These brave men sacrificed their lives happily defending *Chittorgarh* against the forces which were much greater in number than they had. At such a critical juncture the soldiers of *Chittorgarh* put on *Kesaria* clothes and laid down their life in the battlefield and their women-folk sacrificed their lives by jumping into fire to save their honour. They committed *Sati*.

While *Swami Dayanand* (1824-1883) was poisoned, his whole body was burning with the heat of poison, but there was glow on his face. His face which did not show the sufferings at the time of death turned an atheist like *Guru Dutt* into a believer.

Socrates (469-339 BC) was forced to drink a cup of poison. He called his disciples and said, "Look here, my friends now my legs have died, but I'm not dead. Now my thighs have

died, but I'm not died. My hands have died, but I am still alive. The whole of my body will be dead, but I will not die."

Jesus Christ while being crucified said: "Oh my God, forgive them for they know not what they do."

Those who wanted to punish him, thought that they had killed Christ. But in reality, it was only his body which was destroyed; his soul still permeates the East and the West.

In England there was a Bishop by name::: *Latimer* (1485-1555). He was protestant. He was tortured and harassed by those belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. They caught him and after tying him with ropes, set fire to his body. He died saying that his burning body will serve as a torch of light which will remove the darkness in which the world was enveloped.

Burno (1548-1600) asserted that the sun does not revolve round the earth; it is the earth which revolves round the sun. He was tied to a plank of wood and his body was set of fire. He could have saved his life by sacrificing his belief. But he did not. He rather preferred to sacrifice his life. Why did he do so? Because he knew that though his body was mortal, the soul which resided in it was immortal; even after this body was consigned to flames, the soul could not be destroyed.

Our body is made up of cells. They constantly undergo destruction and development. What are nails and hair? They are the dead cells of the body. We remove them and new ones grow. In this manner the whole of our body undergoes changes at least 7-8 times in our life span or, to put it differently, it dies for as many times, as many times it is reborn.

When the end of life comes. The old cells are so much destroyed that they cannot be replaced by new ones. This we call death.

Now the question arises: Which is that Power which despite moment to moment death of the cells of the body keeps it alive? Does that power also get extinguished along with the extinction of the body, or it does continue its journey and leaves

this useless body to enter some new one to fulfil its ultimate objective.

The view that this Conscious Power is also destroyed along with the destruction of the body is rather strange. Why did man enter life? Was it just a co-incidence; only an accident? There is nothing accidental in life. Everything has its purpose. A potter makes the pitcher. A watch-maker makes the watch. When the pitcher is broken or the machinery of the watch is rendered useless, the potter and the watch-maker do not die. There is no pitcher or a watch which may repair itself when something goes wrong with it. It is only the human machinery of the watch is rendered by some power within it. There comes a time when this body becomes irreparable. Watch-maker does not die when the watch becomes useless, the potter does not die when the pot breaks; how can that power die, which repairs the body moment by moment, with the death of the body?

When a pitcher is broken the potter makes a new pitcher, so also does the watch-maker when the watch made by him is irreparable. Likewise, the soul constructs a new body when the old one inhabited by it is destroyed. It is the body which dies and not the soul. Death is only a transformation. This explanation alone sounds logical.

Nothing in this world is destroyed. It only changes its form. This is the eternal law. Water falls from the sky. It turns into a river. The river merges into the sea. Due to heat of the Sun, the sea water turns into vapour. These vapours are transformed into clouds. The clouds again burst into water. Not a drop of water is destroyed. When the drops in the form of incessant rain make a river, we erroneously think that the drop has vanished. When the river ends the sea, we consider this to be an end of the river. In fact, the drop is contained in the river, the river is contained in the sea; nothing is destroyed. Everything remains intact, it only changes its form.

What we call destruction or death of the body is only the transformation of different elements of the body. The body is made of five elements. These elements return to their original source after death. Since the body is the result of intergration of atoms, the atoms disintegrate at the time of death. But they are not destroyed. Consciousness, on the other hand, does not come into being as a result of the integration of atoms. What then happens to consciousness at the time of death? Like the body, the should also undergoes transformation in the sense that it leaves one body and enters another. The transformation of the body into primary elements is called death, the transformation of the soul into another body is called rebirth. The consciousness cannot dissolve into the five elements like the body. Only that thing can dssolve which is material. Dissolution means breaking into parts or bits. A material thing dissolves because it can break into parts. Consciousness can not, it is an undivided whole. If it does break into parts, it is not consciousness but material composition.

We have said that consciousness does not distintegrate like the body, it transforms. What do we mean by the transformation of consciousness? The transformation of the Conscious element means than when one body is destroyed, it finds its abode in another. The body dies, conscious element—the soul—takes another body.

In short, the soul is immortal. When we say a man has died, it only means that the soul has left his body for another. This is like our changing clothes. There is, thus, no death for the soul. It is wrong to use the word death in relation to the soul.

Death is an illusion. Someties, that which does not exist becomes popular. For instance, every one is a ghost. And what is a ghost? The ghost does not exist but people are afraid of ghost. There is a *Sanskrit* word—"Bhoot". This word means the 'Past', that which is gone: When we talk of a person as dead, we talk of him as "Bhoot"—past. Hence, the word

"Bhoot" has come to mean the ghost. The concept of death is also like that. There is no existence of death for the soul. Why should we fear that which does not exist? Death is like a shadow. Just as the ghost and the shadow do not exist, the death also does not exist. The light is flowing. Any obstruction in this flow is called shadow. The shadow does not have any independent existence. Obstruction in the flow of light is called shadow. The shadow chases a man. To be afraid of death is like being chased by your own shadow.

Death is like sleep. We sleep every day. To sleep is to have a mini-death every day. But after sleep one feels refreshed. If there were no sleep, there would be no awakening. Sleep is the basis of awakening and freshness. When the body is tired, the soul puts it to sleep so that it may replenish its strength, its battery is recharged. When the body becomes completely worthless, the soul leaves it because its battery now does not work. It has to arrange for a new battery for the running of the vehicle of the body. The work of the artisan does not stop. His establishment goes on functioning uninterrupted. The new battery that he uses in place of the old one lasts him for another long life. The soul enters the new body of a child, it is full of enthusiasm and strength and can be compared to a new battery.

We think that life and death exist as separate ends of our existence. On one end is life, and on the other end death. But it is not so. It is the life which really exists. Death is only an exit door to enter the new life. If life and death both were real, they would have been like two parallel lines which never meet at any point. But they meet. They so much meet that death is mixed up with life. Death is present wherever there is life. In fact, life and death are two names of the same process viewed from different angles. Light and darkness, sleep and awakening, life and death are pairs but they live together. However, the real existence is of light, of awakening, of life. When the light is not there, we call it

darkness. But when it is dark, can we say that darkness has real and positive existence? When we cease to function as wakeful beings, we call it sleep. But when we are asleep can we say that sleep is a positive factor like wakefulness, or it is just a cessation of wakefulness? When we cease to live and move and have our being, and all functions of the body come to a dead stop, we call it death. But can we say that has a real and positive existence as of life?

Darkness is unreal, light is real, darkness is the cessation of light, it has no positive existence. Sleep is unreal, awakening is real, sleep is the cessation of awakening, it has no positive existence. Death is unreal, life is real, death is the cessation of life, it has no positive existence. Absence of darkness is not light, light exists without darkness; absence of sleep is not wakefulness, wakefulness exists without sleep, absence of death is not life, life exists without death. Darkness, sleep, death are negative states; light, wakefulness, life are positive states.

It is, therefore, the *Shastras* have said that death is unreal, it does not exist. Why a thing which does not exist frighten us?

Devatadhyaya Brahmana

The *Devatadhyaya Brahmana*, including the old and new portions, consists of four short sections the first of which alone deserves the name, as there we find three rules with examples for the ascertaining of the deities of the Soma verses chanted. This is made to depend on the chorus of the chant which forms the final of each Sama. The section closes with a short upanishad or mystic doctrine, as other brahmans do.

The second section contains "an enumeration of the colour of the different verses." On this Dr. Burnell notes that "the meaning of such passages which are not rare in Sanskrit literature is hard to find; at first sight they appear to refer to personifications for the purposes of meditation, such as were used to a surprising extent by the late Buddhists. Such details

are, no doubt, relatively recent, but I think that a distinction must be made between passages like this which occur in Vedic works and the apparently similar passages in the Tantras. The whole Indian literature is characterised by such minute, though wholly fanciful details; but their object in vedic works seems to be different from that of the later Tantras. In the first, knowledge is literally the same as power, and is supposed to give its possessor real influence and creative faculty; and the more extensive and accurate a priest's knowledge is, the greater his power is supposed to be. In the last, faith intervenes as an important element of religion, and these details are regarded merely as helps to meditation. The phrase *Ya evam veda* and the word *Vidya*, which perpetually occur in Vedic works but are unknown in later literature, mark this distinction very clearly. In the Tantric work mystic union with a deity is the chief object to be attained, as the worshipper is thus protected and aided."

Dr. Burnell gathers from references in the third chapter to the four yugas or ages of the world, (the only reference in the whole Vedic literature of them) and to a 'day of Brahma,' such as is found in Manu's Institutes, and the Buddhistic character of the concluding words of the section, that it cannot be earlier than the early centuries A.D., when Brahman and Buddhistic doctrines had thoroughly interpenetrated,—the age of Jatakas and reminiscences of former births. "The old Vedic religion taught the creation of a new body for the sacrificer by means of religious rites. It knew nothing of final *nirvana* or *moxa*, a release from all works. The knowledge here promised is the object of rites in the last part of the Samavidhana (iii, 7.1), but nearly all the Sama Brahmanas show traces of Buddhist influence and belong to an effect age."

He therefore concludes that, though it contains an old fragment or two, it cannot be put down at a higher date than the 4th century A.D.

Diksa-Ritual

The Vedic people, like all peoples having a continuous tradition of rituals, performed manifold rituals; and the ritual-texts give all sorts of explanations and interpretations for acts as well as for the materials used at these rituals. These explanations and interpretations, however, do not always exactly agree with those offered in other texts. Even in the case of rituals, the same school has various opinions as regards details. One of the most important rites in the Vedic sacrificial context is the consecration, or *diksa*. This is the first rite which qualifies a person a person to become a sacrificer.

When this rite is viewed from a close quarter, it shows a complex symbolism, which has to be understood for the proper grasp of the rite among and Vedic people.

The most important symbolism in the Vedic onsecration, or the *upanayana* that follows the same pattern, is the symbolic death and re-birth of the person undergoing the *diksa*. In these symbolic details the Vedic people are not alone, or isolated. We shall presently see how similar beliefs and practices are found among other people also. The symbolic re-birth presupposes the state of symbolic foetus, which the sacrificer (*diksita*) has to attain. However, there are various details prior to this, such as cutting the hair on the head, arm-pit and those on the face, or cutting a lock only; pairing off of the nails; the taking of bath after these acts are accomplished; etc. According to certain authorities, the hair and the nails are to be cut by a barber (*Sat. Br.* III.1.2.2) while according to others, the nails are to be cut by the sacrificer himself. However, in the ancient tradition, the tonsuring was believed to be a divine act, performed by the gods themselves; and when the barber tonsures the hair of the *diksita* (or actually the person who is to undergo the *diksa*) he represents the Sun-god himself. the *diksita* being identified with Soma. *Diksa*, being a *samskara*, marks a new stage in the life and personality of the person taking the *diksa*. As it is *samskara*,

even the bath after shave is not an ordinary one; it gives him a different status. After bath, the person is made to apply clarified butter with two bunches or two blades of the *Darbha* grass to his body; he also applies collyrium to his eyes. These acts prepare him for being able to undergo the *diksa*, which is to follow. According to the *Sat. Br.* (III.1.3.28) he is made to enter a special pandal, the *sala*, and while doing so he enters from the back of the Ahavaniya fire-place and from the front of the Garhapatya fire-place. The idea is that the place between the front of the Garhapatya and the back of the Ahavaniya is for him to move. In this space he roams as a foetus till he gets born later. It is said :

“This is the sapce for him till he is ‘born’. The fire is the womb of the sacrifice; the person to the consecrated is the foetus. Inthe interior of the womb does the foetus move,” This place is called his *sancara*.

An important rite is that of consecration in a black-antelope-skin. For this, to the south of the Ahavaniya fire-place two black-antelope-skins are spread, with their necks to the east. It is generally mentioned that the hairy part of the skins is to be outside. If two skins are not available, one would suffice. About the tying of the skins, if they be two, the direction is that the harily part should be outside. It is to be noted in this connection that the hairy part of both to be outside does not seem to be in keeping with the original concept, if we go deep into the symbolism. The *Sat. Br.* (III.2 1ff.) clearly noted that the two symbolize the heavenly vault and the earth. “IN (between) these two does he (the Adhvaryu priest) consecrate him (*tayor enam adhi diksayati*). If the skins are two, they are the forms of these two worlds; thus, he consecrates him in (between) the two worlds. This is exactly the case for Soma, (the sacrificial shoots) who is said to be the foetus (*garbha*) of heaven and earth. (*Ait. Br.* I.27). This identification of the *diksita* with Soma and the material for offering is maintained throughout. Further it is said that they

(the two skins) are to be fastened and stitched together at the back. This would mean that they are to be placed not side-by-side facing the east, as noted above, but one upon the other, back-to-back tail-to-tail with the idea that the neck-portion of one would coincide with the other's neck-portion. The two, then, would form one whole. This is borne out by the text. The *Sat. Br.* does not state clearly that both the skins should be placed on the ground with the hair-portion of both out. The position is that they are to be so placed that, when one is placed upon the other, after getting the ends stitched, the hair of both be out and the interior be insided.

Drinks

The drink commonly known is Soma; but it was not a common drink! It was very difficult to get Soma; hence, it was restricted to the priests, and that to at the rituals. We have seen above the types of Soma. Other types were the *tivra*, called also *sukra* when it was not mixed with anything. It was called *manthin* when mixed with *saktu* (RV III.32.2 "Drink O Indra! he go-asira, the *sukra* and the *manthin* Soma"). *Kilala* was another type of drink (RV X.91.14 "To Agni, the drinker of *Kilala*, I offer the prayer," AV IV.26.6 "Who propitiate with *kilala*, those who with *ghrta*". (*Vedic Index* I, p.160, saying that *kilala* is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* is not correct). *Parisrt*, prepared from flowers of some type according to the Commentators of the *Vajasneyi-Samhita* (II.34 "The cows carry the nourishment, nectar, *ghrta*, *kilala* and *parisrt* III.43 shows that *kilala* was produced from food, *annasya kilala upahuo grhesu nah*). *Sura* (rum or brandy) is mentioned at various places (RV I.116.7 "Asvins you have sprinkled a hundred jars or *sura*"; etc.).

Salt is not mentioned in the *Rgveda*, and is mentioned only once in the *Atharvaveda* (VII.76.1, where the *gandamala* is said to be more moist than salt, *lavanad vi-klediyast*). In the *Brahmanas* it is mentioned as *usa*, from which the alkaline

land is called *usara* (*Sat. Br.* V.2.1.16 “He lays the *usa*; what is *usa*, is nourishment and progeny”). In the later period it is regularly mentioned (*Cchandogya Up.* 11.4.12 “Just as a small stone of salt dissolves in water”). The non-mention of salt in the *Rgveda*, however, does not mean that it was not known, or used, then. Though no words occur for pepper (*marica*) or chillies, there is no doubt that the taste was known and some such condiment might have been used (*RV* X.85.34 where the words *trsta* and *katuka* occur, though for the cloak of the bride; *trsttam etat katukam etat.*). Salt (*lavana*) is, however clearly mentioned in the *Jai. Br.* (III.236, *gavo lavanam, tasmad u yo lavenena panan carati, gava eva bhavanti*), “cattle in salt; hence, he who goes about selling salt (for him) are cattle made”.

Dvibarhas

The word *dvi-barhas* occurs quite a number of times in the *Rgveda* (*RV*) though in later literature its use is scarce (*Satapatha Brahmana*, 5.3.318; *Taittiriya Samhita*, 3.5.7.5). The word *barhas* never occurs alone, and the only parallel to the word *dvibarhas* is *adri-barhas*, which occurs only once, as an epithet of Aditi (*RV* 10.63.3). The word *dvi-barhas* is found used as an epithet of some of the deities like, Indra (*RV* 6.19.1; 10.116.4); Agni (1.71.6; 4.5.3); Soma (9.4.7; 40.6; 40.6; 100.2); Rudra (1.114.10); Usas (5.80.4) and Brhaspati (6.13.1). It is also found applied to such nouns as *sarman* (1.114.10), *Saman* (4.3.5), *manas* (7.24.2) and *Vac* (7.8.6).

The word *dvibarhas* is generally rendered by Western scholars as ‘doubly strong’ and by Yaska and Sayana ‘grown at both the domains’ (*dvayoh sthanayoh parivrdhah*). That the word posed a problem even at the time of Yaska is indicated by his taking it as *anavagata* (7.74). About the portion *dvi* there is no difficulty; but the word *barhas* has been understood variously, though about the root-meaning there appears to be no substantial difference. It is understood as indicating growth

or strength (/brh- /vrh). Mayrhofer (*Kurzgefozte Etymologische*) compares the word with *brhan* and takes the roots noted above. By the word *barhas* he understands 'tall, great, high', and compares the Khotanese word *bulsyā* with *barhas*. The word *bulsyā* means 'long'. Probably, we have to connect the word *bulsyā* with the Vedic word *valsa*, indicating the branch of a tree or a scion of a family. The word *barhas* has close affinity with words like *barhis*, *barhana* and *brahman*, all indicating 'growth'. This is the reason why Yaska and Sayana render the word *brahman* as 'a ritual that has grown on all sides' (*parivrdham karma*). *Barhis*, *barhas*, or *barha* indicate some kind of growth. The *barhis* shoots forth from the earth, whilst *barha* grows from the body of a bird, and indicates 'wing'. The rendering of the word *dvi-barhas*, thus, rightly indicated 'double growth'. With a person or a god, the word would indicate 'the one who has control of both strata', indicating the earth and heaven, as Sayana understands. The wealth (*rayi*) that is *dvibarhas* may indicate the heavenly wealth and the terrestrial one.

In the most important reference to the word *dvi-barhas* in the *Rgveda* (10.61.10) it indicates a person of mystic powers whom the Angirases are said to resort for the gain of the cows. Here, this person is described as *dvi-jah*, as also *dvi-bandhuh*. He declares himself as being connected with heaven and the earth. All these epithets fit in with his being the *dvi-barhas* has help in understanding the concept behind the word under study. He works the wonder of causing the un milked cows ooze the 'milk' (*acyuta duduksan*), which is rain.

Parallel to *dvi-barhas*, we have another word *adribarhas*, which is an epithet of Aditi (*RV* 10.63.3). In keeping with the root-meaning of *barhas*, it is better to take it to mean 'grown with clouds' with Sayana, rather than "firm as the mountain" (Geldner), particularly in view of the fact that Aditi is Dyuh, 'heaven' and that she is said to 'milk' the *piyusa*,

which is rain. The idea behind *adri-barhas* appears to be that Aditi (in her aspect of 'Heaven') has the clouds 'growing' about her, which would show *barhas* to be an external attachment. This conjecture gets support from yet another passage where Dawn is described as a female deer (or, the white deer, *RV* 5.80.4, *esa vy'eni bhavati dvi-barahah*). She is *dvi-barhas* as she appears in the east at her advent. This may be taken to indicate her brilliance 'touching heaven and earth,' which would explain the word *dvi*; but the expression has a deeper meaning : 'She becomes *dvi-barhas*' (mark the word *bhavati*). This will mean that one could get to become" *dvi-barhas* on certain occasions; and yet, it was a distinction for only some, as noted above.

In this connection, it is important to note another (and the only) variant of *dvibarhas*, or, in fact of *barhas*; it is *barha*, in the word *dvi-barha-jma* (*RV* 6.73.1). There is hardly any doubt about the fact that *barha* is a variant of *barhas*, both indicating the same concept. The word *dvi-barha-jma* has been rendered as 'double-pathed' (Geldner, *doppelt Bahn*) combining the sense of *barhas* with that of *jma*. But, evidently, the rendering is short of the mark, since it does not bring the concept behind the word *barha* to the fore. Geldner is not confident about his rendering, as is clear from the fact that he gives an interrogation mark after it. In the notes, he quotes Sayana, 'having his gait heightened at both places' (*dvayoh sthanayoh brmhita-gamanah*). Oldenberg takes the whole expression to be separated as *dvibarhajma pra* and *gharma-sat* (the first on the Sayana (*doppelter fullend*)). The portion *jma*, (originally *jman*, from */gam/jam*, 'to go', indicates movement (*cf.*, *pari-jman*). But, this has to be in association with *barha-jma*, hence, would indicate the same thing as 'moving with the wings in both places (heaven and earth)'. The word is an epithet of Brhaspati. At another place in the *Rgveda*, Brhaspati is referred to as *sata-patra* (*RV*. 7.97.7 a), giving the picture of a bird. The image of the bird was favourite with the Vedic seers, and the Great Principle is

described as *Suparna* (RV 1.164.46). The goddesses are said to have whole wings (RV 1.22.11, *acchinna-patrah*), which may be taken as the earliest reference to the concept of the winged nymphs or angles. We have also the concept of the supreme god that blows the worlds with his wings (RV 10.81.3).

That the concept behind the word *dvi-barhas* was that of working wonder is clear from at least two places, where the reference is to the gain of rain referred to above, the one being of the Angirases resorting to the *dvibarhas* and the other that of Brhaspati. In both, we have reference to the gain of the heavenly fluid. The first (10.61) has it in the 'milking of the cow *Sabardugha*', while in the other, Brhaspati, described as *gharma-sat* 'sitting at the *gharma*'), is said to control the cosmic fire-principle (*gharma*), and exhibits also characteristic roar which indicates the thunder in the cosmos (*cf., ib., a rodasi vrsabho roraviti*). Looking at the very special, and also restricted use of this epithet *dvi-barhas* or *dvi-barha jma* (in the case of Brhaspati in this citation), the *barhas* appears to have some mystico-ritualistic importance. The case is about the same as that of the word *sipre*, with its variants *su-sipra* etc. In fact, the *barhas* appears to be a sort of an extra attachment, like the *sipre*, may be on the helmet or to the sides. The first for social status, while the other for ritualistic wonder. The first was a horn-like drinking-cup, which also served as a head-ornament worn on the helmet. This surmise is supported by the fact that in the ancient tribes wearing of feathers for ritualistic purposes was prevalent, as will be seen from the following examples.

The American Indians used feathers in imitative magic. Feathers were attached to prayer-sticks among the people of the south-western states of the United States, and among the Zuni Indians, for addressing the supernatural powers. Feather-dress typified the clouds and, sometimes, the gentle breeze

(we may compare *adribarhas*, above, said of Aditi). Among the Pawnee Indians, feathers were tied to the ear of the corn with a view to get rich crop; for, the feather symbolised the Creator-spirit, called Tirava. Most Egyptian gods were two feathers, symbolising the twin powers of goodness and knowledge. Did *dvi-darhas* symbolise some such thing to the earlier Vedic people? The probability is strong. In the Vedic rituals, the use of things is often substantiated with the help of etymology; and there are innumerable examples of things used due to their names indicating some sort of mystic quality or virtue. This, barley (*yava*) is used as it joins (/yu, 'to join'; also 'to separate' in certain cases). The *barhis*, a cognate of *barhis*, a cognate of *barhas*, is thus addressed to : 'You are *barhi*, the one that goes to the gods', (*Matrayaniya Samhita*, 4.1.2.3), where the root-making of movement is clear. As the root-meaning of the word *barhas* is about the same (from /*brh*, as noted earlier), it is not improbable that in very early rituals the feather was used to signify a wonder-working priest, and that *dvi-barhas* enshrines a custom of wearing the double-feather.

Drse Kam

When examined critically all the *twenty-five* occurrences of the dative infinitive *drse* in twenty-four stanzas of the *Rgveda* (actually twenty-five, but two of them : 1. 23. 21. and X. 9. 7. are identical) the result were rather unexpected and demanded (in his opinion) a fresh inquiry into the construction and interpretation of some of these passages. He also feels that as in the case of the Parasmai-pada and Atmane-pada of verbs in the *Rgveda*, the investigation becomes interesting as to whether such a classification has a semantic principle underlying it, so the inquiry becomes very relevant as to the principles (if any) governing the use of the dative infinitive : *drse* with an *active* or *passive* force in the *Rgveda*. Such an inquiry is undertaken in this paper, which incidentally draws attention to the fact (often overlooked) that in a number of

passages where *drse* is immediately preceded by *sv ar* or by *suryam*, the rendering “in order that (people or some other implied subject like ‘he’ or ‘I’) may see the sun or (sun-) light” is loose, as it violates the principle of syntax that the implied subject of the verb in the dative infinitive (when used with an active sence) should be identical with the subject of the sentence of which the infinitive-phrase forms part.

We will take up first those six *drse* passages in which it is follwed by *kam*. The case of this adverbial particle which appears both as an accented and as an unaccented particle in the *Rgveda* is very interesting. The unaccented *kam* which is met with only in the *Rgveda* (barring one independent passage in the *Atharva Veda*) always appears as an enclitic when it follows the accented particles: *nu*, *su*, and *hi* to form frequently occurring, rhythmic but vague phrases, being valuable more for its sound than its sense- a very enfeedbled version of ‘indeed’ or ‘gladly’ which is its full meaning but which could find scope only in the prose portions of the later Samhitas and Brahmanas. The accented *kan* again regularly follows datives in the *Rgveda* (datives of persons or abstract nouns or dative infinitives) and in sense, is an attenuated version of “well.” This peculiar behaviour of *kam* is an illustration of the interesting fact that in the *Rgveda* the accentuation, meaning or syntactical use of a word dis liable to be affected, it combined with a certain other word to form a favourite or rhythmic phrase. Somewhat similar is the story of *drse*, the dative infinitive of the root *drs* ‘to see’. Whereas, as the infinitive of a transitive verb, it could either govern an object (generally in the accusative case) or could have a *kpassive* force (as dative infinitives in *e*, *tavai* and *tave*, especially have), in all the six *drse kam* passages in the *Rgveda*, the dative infinitive *drse* has a passive force, the sense being “(so) that it may be seen. “This means that a combination with *kam* has affected the meaning of *drse*.

To illustrate what has been stated above we bow take up

first, the six *drse kam*, passages:—

1.123.11:—*susamkasa matrmrsteva yosavistanvam krnuse drse kam*

Trans:—“Of fine appearance, like a young lady groomed by (her) mother, dost thou disclose (thy) body, *for being seen*.”

1.124.6:—*evedesa purutama drse kam.../*

MACDONELL translates this in his grammar as an illustration of the passive force of the dative infinitive, thus:— “She here that constantly returns (*so as*) *to be seen*.”

VI.29.3:—*vasano atkam surabhim drse kam*

svar na nrtavisiro babhutha//

Trans:— “Putting on a fragrant robe, *for being seen*, like the sun, O Dancer, thou (Indra) hast become lively.” *Svar* as the Upamana of Indra is in the nominative case and cannot be connected, as an object with *drse*, which as a passive force.

X 123.7:— Pada (c) is identical with VI.29.3 above and Pada (d) reads:—

Svar na nama janata priyani //

Trans:— “Putting on a fragrant robe *for being seen*, like the sun, the (the Gandharva) has made (lit, ‘produced’) dear names for himself.”

X5.5:— *sapta svasrraruirvavasano vidvan*

madhva ujjabhara drse kam/

Trans:—The knowing one, yearning, has lifted the seven ruddy sisters out of the honey, *for being seen* (i.e. ‘that they be seen’). ”

VIII. 94.2:— *yasya deva upasthe urata vise dharayante/*

Suryamasa drse kam //

Trans:—“In whose lap, all the gods maintain their *vrats*; (in whose lap) the sun and the moon (also maintain them), *in order to be seen*.”

E

Eastern Tribes (Anga, Videha, Kosala)

The legend of Mathava Videgha in respect of the advance of the Aryans towards the eastern region is referred to in the *Sat. Br.* (I.4.1.10.18) and the Sadanira formed the boundary of the Videhas and the Kosalas. The Angas are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and were out of the pale of the Aryan civilisation then like the Magadhas; for, *takman* is desired to go to them in the east as it was desired to go to the Gandharis and the Mujavats in the north-west (AV. V.22.14 *Gandharibhyo mujavadbhyo angebhyo magadhebhyo... takmanam pari dadmasi*). The Angas and the Magadhas are compounded together in the *Gopatha Br.* (II.9, like the Kasi-Kosalas, which indicate their mutual neighbourhood. For the Vedic Aryans the accent of the Magadhas was jarring and heavy (*anti-krusta*). A notable feature about the Vedic influence over the Kosala territory is that their king Para Atnara, the son of Hiranyagarbha, performed the Horse-sacrifice (*Sat. Br.*; XIII.54 *tena ha Para Atnara ije Kaausalyo rajd*).

It is also noteworthy in this context that Asvalayana, priest of the royal family of the Videhas, was from Kosala (*Prasna Upanisad* III.1. "Him (Paippalada), indeed, Asvalayana, the

Kausalya, ask"). The Kasi region becomes prominent in the Brahmanas and later. Dhrtarastra, the king of Kasi, was defeated at the hand of Satanika Satrajita, and it is stated that his sacrificial horse was held by the latter (*Sat. Br. XIII.5.4.22, Satanikah samantdsu medhyam Satrajito hayam, adatta yajnam kasinam*). The reference here is to the Horse-sacrifice being thwarted; and there is no support to the conjecture of the authors of the *Vedic Index* that the people of Kasi, in disgust, stopped paying homage to the Vedic sacrificial fire (under *Kasi-Kasya*). The word Kasi comes late (in the Brahmanas); but there is a reference to the river Varana in the *Atharvaveda* (AV. IV.7.1 "May this water from the Varanavati ward off this poison"), the water of which is said to be an antidote against poison. It is probable that the Varanavati (Varana) is the same as the river that is associated with Asi which gave the name Varanasi. Is it possible that the belief that the death at Varanasi. Is it possible that the belief that the death at Varanasi (Kasi) leads to heaven connects with this Vedic fact, rather than to the vicinity of Siva, which is a late event?

Education

We have noted earlier the close relationship between the *acarya* and the Brahmacarin. The *Rgveda* does not have the word *acarya*; but it gives a fair picture of a class where the teacher recited and the students followed him (RV VII. 103.5 *saktasyeva uadati siksamanah*). Teaching included the recitation of the *mantras* as also their ritual-application. This was the *brahma* (cf. VII. 103.8 "performing the *brahma*"; and the traditional explanation, *parivrdham karma for brahman*). The *sakta* and the *siksamana* (taught and the teacher) stayed together; and thus the *kula*, came to be in the academic sense. The concept of this *kula* is present in the *Rgveda*, when the vessel of the Rbhus, the arizan-brothers, is said to be *mahakula* (I.161.1 "We do not censure the vessel that is *mahakula*", meaning, produced by a famous 'school').

In such *kulas* students flocked to receive the holy-*mantra* together with the ritual application, and to practice it. This is indicated by such expressions as ‘*brahmacartyena. √vas*’; or ‘*brahmacaryam √car*’. the student who stayed with the *acarya*, in this *kula*, was the *kula-vasin* or ‘*ante-vasin*’ (*Brhadaranyaka Up.*, VI.3.55).

Alongside with the *kulas* of the *acaryas*, there was the class of travelling teachers of people given to discussions, known as the *caraka*; but these were not much honoured as is seen from the following passage: “for misconduct the *carakacarya*” (*Vaj. Sam.* XXX.18, in the context of the symbolic sacrifice).

Education finance was not a problem. The student could give to the teacher whatever he desired: “Give to the *Acarya* what you desire” (*Taitt. Up.* XI). It appears that plots of tillable land were given to various teachers, where the students could grow corn: “*Raikva!* These thousand cows, this garland, this chariot yoked with mules, this wife (my daughter) and the village in which you are staying, obtain these things; versily, instruct me”, says kind *Janasruti* to *Raikva* (*Cchandogya Up.* IV. 2.4).

In the *Acarya-kula* girls are not mentioned as students; but we have already referred to the desire of the parents to have daughters that were educated, and *Yajnavalkya* had one of his two wives, *Maitreyi*, a learned one, not to mention *Gargi*, who had a learned discourse with *Yajnnavalkya*.

About the literature it could be seen that the later Vedic period, represented by the *Upanisads*, had a whole tradition of knowledge and ritual interspersed with finer thoughts on philosophy. What is known as *Veda*, is the tradition; and the *Rgveda* does not have this word in the sense it gained later. The first glimpse of the variety of literature is gained from the *Atharvaveda*, which mentions the “*Itihasa*, *Purana*, *Gatha* and the *Narasamsis*” (*AV.XV.6.11*). The meaning of the word

Itihasa, however, was not the usual account of the dynasties. It simply conveyed the meaning of traditional account, including that of a ritual or a custom. The difference between the various items was not clear. Most of the lore was transmitted in the oral method.

We have seen earlier that terms from litigation occur in the context of the symbolic sacrifice (*Vaj. Sam. XXX.9, prasnin, abhiprasnin, and prasinavivaka*), and that they indicate the germ of legal procedure. In the same context is mentioned the *bhisaj*, the physician. The most original reference comes in the *Rgveda* where Rudra is said to be *jalasa-bhesaja*, indicating water-therapy (RV.II.33.7 "Your hand, O Rudra! that has the *jalasbhesaja*): and there are ever so many disease and remedies mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, along with the *mantras*, which themselves are called '*bhesajah*'. The very word *osadhi* indicates the giving of new brilliance or life's essence (*psa* fr./us, "to burn" + *dhi* fr./dha, "to place"). The diseases *yaksma* and *takman* are mentioned with their cures (RV.I.122.9 "He holds *yaksma* in his heart"; *takman* is mentioned in the AV.I.25; V.22 etc.). For herbal medicines we may note: "The *osadhis* have driven off what disease there was in the body? (RV.X.97.10). There is indication of surgery: "You have attached the thigh of *ayas* for Vispala" (RV.I.116.15; also 112.10 where Vispala is indicated to be a mare, '*vispalam dhanasam atharvyam*'). The *Sankhayana Br.* (V. 1) says that "sickness is notable in the joints of the seasons". The *Asvalayana Srauta Sutra* (X. 7.5) has "*visavidyam nigadet*", which was earlier called *sarpavidya* (*Sat. Br. XIII.4.3.9*). The dissection of the various animals at the sacrifice provided good ground for the knowledge for anatomy, and the reference to the thigh of Vispala has to be understood in this context.

The art of composition of poetry is indicated at various places; and the singer was called *karu*, which also indicated the capacity to compose (RV.IX.112.3 "I am a *karu*"). In this

connection the ritual of Soma helped to lay the foundation of good poetry and even of poetics. Soma gave the impetus for composition and is "the creator of the speech of the poets" (RV. IX. 67.13) and "speech-impeller" (IX.101.6 *vacam inkhayah*). It is in the context of the ritual of Soma itself that the first ever definition of poetry indicating *rasatmika* speech is also seen: "He who studies the hymns to *Pavamana* Soma, which is the *rasa* collected by the seers" (RV.IX.67.31;32). Here the hymns to Soma are said to be collected *rasa*. The idea may be compared with the famous later definition of *rasa* by Visvanatha, '*vakyam rastmakam kuvryam*'.

The art of discussion and ready-wittedness is to be seen from the *brahmodya* type of dialogues in which question and answer of a riddle type figured (RV.I.164.34;35); and they formed a regular feature of the public sacrifices such as the Horse-Sacrifice and the Mahavrata. Actually, from these were evolved the dramas of the later times. Another regular feature at the year-round sacrifice (such as the Horse-sacrifice) was the *Paripalva* type of tales (*akhyana*), when the monotony of the ritual is relieved by the various tales. Thus developed the literature of the *akhyana* type and the *katha* types that gave the best of the type in the *Kadmabari* and the *Harsacaritam* of Banabhatta. There were also other types of dialogues and narrations called the *Vakovakya* (Sat. Br. IV.6.9.20).

The most important theatre (if we may say so!) for the development of these forms of art and literature was the sacrificial assembly and both of the elite and of the folks' it is the latter that influenced by former and procuded tasteful types of literature. This folk-theatre was known by the word we now know thoroughly well. It was the *samhotra* and the *samana*.

On the side of the sciences astrology was well-developed, as it was necessary for the fixation of the various sacrificial

sessions; and the astrologer is already mentioned (*Vaj. Sam. XXX.9 prajnanaya nakstradarsam*). The six ancillaries of the Veda (*sadangani*) are mentioned; and the *Tattiriya Up.* gives the various phases of the science of language (*I.2 siksam vyakhyasyamah*) which gave further rise to the *Vyakarana*. Other sciences are *Devajanavidya* (science of divination, *Sat.Br. III.4.3.10*) which is mentioned in the *Cchandogya Up.* (*VIII.1.2.4*). The science of language was well-developed, as there is mention in the *Nirukta* of the various schools of grammarians and their contribution (*Nir. I.17* "In the texts of all schools (*carananam parasadani*) words are taken as the basis").

In philosophy there is a clear line of development. Here again the *brahmodya* has played a very important part; for herein we have the speculations about the nature of the universe, e.g. 'You do I ask, the end of the earth; I ask you about the navel of the universe' (*RV I.164.34*); and the reply, "This sacrificial altar is the end of the earth; this sacrifice is the navel of the universe" (*Ibid.v.35*). It may appear that here the ultimate is said to be sacrifice alone. But this is a mistake. The sacrifice was only the medium to realise the ultimate oneness of the Man in the macrocosm and that in the microcosm, i.e. in the cosmos and in the individual body. Thus: "He that shines yonder (i.e. the sun) is the same as the one that has consecrated for sacrifice... Prajapati is, indeed, he who is consecrated for sacrifice" (*Jaiminiya Br. II.63*). This identification of the sacrificer and the cosmic Man was the constant vein of the thinking of the Yajurveda, which later gave place to the ritual-less meditation on the self, who was believed to be the same as the Highest Soul. Already in the *Rgveda* this is manifest: "The Suparna" (*I.164.46*), and "The Great Power of the gods, that is the ONE" (*III.55.1 ff*), the famous refrain.

The Upanisads show a variety of thinking and speculation. According to some teachers water was the source of all

(*Brhad. Up.*, V.5.1 “This word was water alone in the beginning”); according to Raikva “It is Air that is the ultimate reality” (*Cchandogya Up.* IV;3.1); and it is Fire according to Pravahana Jaivali, who teaches fire to be in the five strata of the universe (*Brhad. Up.* VI.2.9-15) and it is Space again according to Pravahana *Cchand. Up.* I.9.1. “without doubt all creatures are created from Space”). These tally with the thought of the Greek philosophers; respectively Thales, Anaxemenes, Heracleitus and Anaxemander. The thought of the Upanisad however went beyond and speculations reached the threshold of *Sat or Asat* (Being and Not-Being) the ultimate source. But even that had already started in the *Rgveda* in the famous Nasadiya hymn (X. 129) and it was stated that it was *asat* that was the Cause (RV X.72.3 “in the early age of the gods from *asat* was produced the *sat*”). Brahman in the Vedic ritual context was the *mantra* and the ritual, as is noted earlier.

In the Upanisadic philosophy, however, it came to be the supreme principle of all existence. The contribution of the Upanisadic period was the full-fledged evolution of the concept of Brahman, which was, at this period, the same as the Atman. However, Atman remains in the *Rgveda* as the wind (VII.87.2 “Wind that is your Atman, O Varuna, roars in the mid-region” also X. 92.13; 168.4 etc.). However, the subtle heights of Atmanism as we have in the Upanisads were clearly hinted at by the Rgvedic seer Dirghatamas, when he distinguished between the subtle elements of *asu* and *jiva* beyond the material components of the body, which no other seer had done before him; and thus it is he who has to be given the credit of laying down the foundation of the later height which the subtle principle of Atmanism achieved. This is clear at RV I.140.8 where he differentiates the *jiva* from *asu*; and at I.164.4, where he gives other materials of the body, he distinguishes between the *asu* and *atman*, “what was the *asu*, blood and *Atma* of the earth”. These two taken together identify the *jiva* and the *Atman*. This is the germ,

though not noted by many scholars, of the later differentiation of the *Jivatman* and *Paramatman*. Dirghatamas started from the *jiva*, and called it the Atman, thus going microcosmically, though he takes the earth as the example, which only brings in the macrocosm as a later stage; and as an applied example! *asu* is the cosmic life-principle.

Election of a King

It is usually suggested that the ancient India thinker possessed only a 'theological' and 'philosophical' mind. The large amount of ancient Indian Literature relating, either directly or indirectly, to political science (*Arthashastra* or *Dandaniti*) would, however, clearly indicate that he also possessed what may be called a 'political' and 'economic' mind. Indeed, some of the thinkers of ancient India went to the extent of claiming that *Arthashastra* or *Dandaniti* was the most fundamental of all sciences.

One of the most basic concepts in ancient Indian polity was that of kingship. In the Vedic literature—more particularly, in the *Brahmanas*—we come across various speculations, mostly embodied in mythical legends, about such topics as the origin and nature of kingship, the function of the king, the types of sovereignty, and the checks on the autocracy of the king. So far as the origin of kingship is concerned, one may distinguish between two main currents of thought. It is pointed out in one of the *Brahmana* passages that the highest god (Prajapati) bestowed his own special power upon one of the gods (Indra) and thus enabled him, though a junior, to rule over other gods. There is another significant variation of this theory of the divine origin of kingship. The *Mahabharata*, for instance, speaks of a state of nature from which Prajapati rescued the human race by laying down a code of conduct for all people and by creating the institution of kingship. The Great Epic here refers to three distinct stages in the process of the evolution of kingship, namely, (a) the golden age of 'stateless' society, in

which these was 'neither kingship nor king, neither sceptre nor the bearer of the sceptre' and in which 'all people protected one other by means of righteous conduct (on the part of each one of them)', (b) the period of decadence characterised by the prevalence of a state of nature, and (c) the divine origination of law and the administrator of law (that is, the king). The *Satrapatha-Brahmana* also seems to hint at a similar origin of law and kingship.

It may be incidentally mentioned here that in the Vedic literature there are but very rare references to any divinity attaching to the person of a historical king. In *RV* IV.42.9, king Trasadasyu is called *ardha-deva* (half-god), and, in *AV* XX.127.7, pariksit is resferred to as a 'god who is above mortals'. The idea of the personality of a king having been constitute of essential particles derived from different gods was developed, perhaps for the first time, in the *Manusmṛiti*.

Three main points need to be noted in connection with the second current of thought relating to the origin of kingship. Firstly, the need for kingship was felt on account of some special urgency such as that of war; secondly, kingship was the result of some kind of election; and, thirdly, the king was expected to fulfil certain obligations to the people. In this theory, which may be described as the theory of the elective origin of kingship, two principles were thus involved—one of election and the other of an implied social contract.

Atharvaveda, III.4 contains quite an unambiguous reference to the Vedic practice of the election of a king. It does not form part of any mythical legend, but presumably describes actual historical conditions. It would seem that the king was elected out by the whole community, but by a smaller body which constituted what may be called the electoral college. This hymn is important also for some other ideas concerning polity which occur in it.

Text, translation, and notes

आ त्वा गन्राष्टं सह वर्चसोदिहि प्राङ् विशां पतिरेकराद् त्वं वि राज।
सर्वास्तत्त्वा राजन्प्रदिशो ह्यन्तूपसद्यो नमस्योऽ भवेह ॥१॥

Unto thee has (this) dominion come, (endowed) with lustre, do thou rise; go forward as the lord of the people; as the sole king, do thou rule (mightily). May all the quarters, O king, call thee; worthy of being attended upon the worthy of homage do thou become here.

1. The word *rastra* (dominion or kingdom) in this stanza should be clearly distinguished from the word *rajya* (kingship) occurring in the next stanza. Presumably, *rastra* implies the territory under a king's sovereignty and thus presupposes the transition from the earlier tribal organisations to territorial states. This distinction between *rastra* and *rajya* would indicate a fairly advanced state of political thinking. 2. As the result of they election to kingship. 3. *Saha varcasa* may be construed either with *a gan* (injunctive) or with *ud ihi*; the latter is obviously better. 'Being endowed with lustre' must have been one of the reasons for his election. (cf. *TBr.* II.2.10.1-2 where Indra, though junior, is said to have achieved kingship of the gods because he had obtained *haras* or lustre from Prajapati). 4. The pun on the words *ud ihi* and *pran* may be noted. 5. The metre is sought to be regularised variously by omitting *ud ihi* or *pran* or *vi raja*. 6. Perhaps implying the various sections of the community or the various parts of the dominion.

Esaviras

The Esaviras or the Aisaviras are mentioned in the *Satapatha Br.*, and they appear to be bad priests (*Sat. Br.* XI.2.7.32" If the Aisaviras help him sacrifice"; and Sayana's comment, "The Esavira is the name of a despised Brahmana-sect"). Probably they had their own cult of sacrifice, which rivalled with the Vedic cult of the priests. There is another sacrificing sect (tribe?) not mentioned later, but occurs in the *Rgveda*; it is Ogana, and is also said to be the rival of the Vedic priestly

cult (RV.X.89.15 “Being hostile to us, O Indra, and troubling, the Ogas pestered us).

Exemplarism

The doctrine of Exemplarism is bound up with that of forms of ideas, and has to do with the intelligible relation that subsists as between the forms, ideas, similitudes, or eternal reasons of things (*nama*, “name” or “noumenon”=*forma*) and the things themselves in their accidental and contingent aspects (*rupa*, “phenomenon”=*figura*). This is as much as to say that Exemplarism, in the last analysis, is the traditional doctrine of the relation, cognitive and casual, between the one and the many: the nature of which relation is implied in Vedic Sanskrit by the expressions *Visvam ekam* (RV.III, 54.8), “the many that are one, the one that is manifold” (= Plotinus, “Integral Multiplicity”), *visvam satyam* (RV. II, 24, 2), “The germ of all,” and more fully enunciated in SB. X, 5, 2, 16, “As to this they say, ‘Is He then one or many?’ One should answer, ‘One and many.’”

For inasmuch as He is That, He is one; and inasmuch as He is multiply distributed (*bahudha vyavistih*) in his children, He is many.” “He”, in the original, “Death” *mrtyu*); “That,” i.e. the “Person in the Sun.” In order not to complicate the present exposition by a discussion *de divinis nominibus*, the pronoun has generally been substituted for the name of deity actually employed in the passages cited. I have discussed the use of essential names in my “Vedic Monotheism,” to appear this year in the S.K. Aiyangar Memorial Volume. The general principle is as follows: deity is everywhere of one and the same form (RV VIII, II, 8, *purutra hi sadrnn asi*; I, 94, 7, *yovisvath supratikah sadrnn asi*), but he has many names, the application of which inheres not in him, but in the percipient; “Even as he seems, so is he named” (*yadrg eva dadrse tudrg ucyate*, RV. V, 44, 6), “As he is approached, so he becomes (*yathopasate tad eva bhavati*, SB. X, 5, 2, 20), for example,

“Indra art thou to the mortal worshipper” (RV. V, 3, 1), “Thou art Varuna at birth, becomest Mitra when kindled” (RV. III, 5, 4, and V, 3, 1).

The doctrine in these respects cannot be better demonstrated than by means of a diagram consisting of two concentric circles, with their common centre and two or more radii, or by the corresponding Vedic symbol of a wheel (*eakra*) with its felly, hub, and spokes. Such a diagram or symbol represents the universe in cross section, the circles any two levels of reference or “words” (*loka*, or more specifically the individual and intellectual, or human and angelic (*adhyatma* and *adhidavivata*), levels of reference. The whole world, or universe (*visvam*) thus represented corresponds to the ensemble of all possibilities of manifestation, whether informal, formal, or sensible; a world (*loka* = *locus*) is a given ensemble of possibilities, a given modality.

The infinite ocean of all possibility whether of manifestation or non-manifestation is represented by the blank surface of the paper which at the same time interpenetrates and transcends the indefinite extension of the finite universe represented by the diagram; this unlimited surface is unaffected by the extension or abstraction of the diagram, which has no position. Each radius, spoke, or ray represents the whole being of an individual consciousness, its intersection with any circumference the operation of this consciousness as that level of reference; each such point of intersection forming the centre of a minor “world,” which must be thought of as a smaller circle struck about its own centre on the inner surface of the sphere of which the diagram is a cross section, in a plane, that is, at right angles to the radius of ray that connects the unique centre with the point in question.

This unique centre is, like the whole diagram, without position in its ambient, “position” having a meaning only upon or within the circumference; and just as this ambient is unaffected by the presumption of a centre with or without its dependent radii,

so the properties of the unique centre once assumed are unaffected by the extension or substruction of radii. And as the indefinitely numerous points which constitute the surface of indefinitely numerous concentric spheres represent the points of view of individual knowing subjects, so the unique point from which all radii proceed and to which all coverage represents an omniscient, supra-individual consciousness, metaphysically the First Principle, theologically God in his intelligible aspect, that of the Supernal Sun, or light; while what we have called the ambient, at once immanent and transcendent, represents the Godhead or Divine Darkness. Strictly speaking, the diagram should have been drawn, not in black on white, but in gold against a black ground, and it is thus in fact that the Vedic *jyotiratha*, "the chariot of light" (=Biblical "chariot of fire"), and its wheels are conceived.

In such a diagram it is obvious that for every point on the outer circumference there is a corresponding and analogous point on the inner circumference, with only this difference, that on the inner circumference the "points" are more closely "packed." If the circumference of the inner circle be reduced, the same condition holds good. In such reduction, there can be no moment at which the "points" of which the circumference (or spherical surface represented by it) is composed can be thought of as annihilated; we can only continue to think of them as more and more densely packed, and finally coinciding in a unity without composition. In other words, all of the radii, all individual principles, and in their total extension, are represented at their common centre in *principio*, in an innumerable principle (*tattva*) which is at the same time an altogether simple substance (*dharma*) and possesser of a multifarious nature (*svabhava*); a single point, and yet for each radius its own and private starting point.

In just this sense, "The notions of all created things (*kavya* = *kavikarmani*) in here in him, who is as it were the hub within the wheel (*cakre nabhir iva srita*, RV. VIII, 41, 6). Similarly

RV.X, 82, 6 “inherent in the nave(1) of the Unborn, in which insist the several words as one” (*ajasya nabhau adhi ekam arpitam yasmin visvani bhuvanani tasthuh*); or *aja* may be rendered by “Goat”, the reference being to the Sun as Visvakarma, the “All-maker,” in either case. As to the rendering of *kavya* by “notion of all created things”: Vedic *kavi* is “poet” in the sense of the original Greek ποιητης, that is Philo’s sense and as the word is applied to God in the New Testament. It is as creator” that the term *Ikavi* is used of the Sun, Agni and others in RV.; while *Kavya*, cited above from VIII, 41, 6 is not as in the later rhetoric merely a “poem,” but “whatever is made by a *kavi*”, whether by way of generation of art. If the word *kavya* in the sense of “poem” also implies a diction, expression and utterance, this corresponds of the Scholastic equation of *rationes* with λόγοι.

If the Vedic *kavayah* are in a certain sense the authors of the *suktas*, it is rather as finders or inventors (in the etymological sense of *in-verio*, dis-cover) than as composers; theirs is the “prophetic” faculty; and the *suktas* themselves are of quickening efficacy; all of which is far removed from conceptions of authorship and “literature” nowadays current. It is as *kavi* that the Sun “releases all things in their kind” (*visva rupani prati muncate*, RV. V, 81 2), that is, “frees his comrades from the curse” (*amuncat nir avadyat*, RV. III, 31, 8), from the bonds of Varuna *Varunat*, RV. X, 92, 16), from the fetter of Death (*Bandhanat mrtyor*, RV. VII, 59, 2); and because by the mere act of shining the supernal Sun thus releases all things from darkness to light, from potentiality to act, he is called, as Pusan, the “son of liberation”. In him are all beings, and the eye that oversees; intellect (*manas*), spiration (*pranah*), and noumenon (*nama*) coincident (*samahitam*, ‘being in *samadhi*’); in him when he comes forth all his children enjoy (the fulfilment of their ends or purposes, by which their will to life is determined); sent by him, and born of him, it is in him that all this universe is stablished,” AV.XIX,

53, 6-9; and in the same way as the person, or Man, He is called the “resort of all phenomena” (*rupany eva yasyatanam... purusam*, BrhU. III, 9, 16).

This inherence in the central consciousness is accordingly the means of a “unified density of cognition” (*ekibhuta prajnana-ghana*, *Mandukya Up.* 5), a “cognitive pleroma” (*krtsnah prajnana-ghana*, BrhU. IV., 5, 13); “He knows the whole speculatively” (*visvain sa vedo varuna yatha dhiya*, RV. X, 11, 1), and *ab intra*, “being provident, even before birth, of all the generations of the Angels” (*garbhe nu sann anu esam avedam aham devanam janimani visva*, RV. IV, 27, 1), in other words, his knowledge of things is not derived from them objectively and *post factum*, but from their prior likeness in the mirror of his own intellect. It is as *visva veda janimani* that Agni is called Jatavedas, “comprehensor of the genesis of things,” TV. *passim*, and as such that he is indentified with Varuna, *ab intra* (III, 5,4), being indeed the “comprehensor of Varuna” (IV, 1,4); and this “lore of genesis” (*jatavidya*) which the Brahman knows in X, 71, 11 is the same things as the “hidden names of the Angles” (*devanam guhya namani*, V,5,10) as will be evident when we turn to the further discussion of *nama*. This divine providence of wisdom is also spoken of as “counsel” (*kratu*, often like *maya* and *saci* met with in pl. and then equivalent to “powers” (e.g. IV, 12, 1 “Thou art a Comprehensor by thy counsel, Jatavedas: (*tava kratva jutavedas cikitvan*). Just as the physical sun enjoy a bird’s-eye view of this whole earth in its orbit, so the Supernal Sun “surveys the whole” (*visvam abhicaste*, RV. I, 164, 44), being the eye or *aussichtspunkt* (*adhyaksa*) of Varuna or of the Angels collectively (*vam caksur... suryas... abhi yo visva bhuvanani caste*, RV. VII, 61, 1; cf. I, 115, 1 X, 37, 1, X, 129, 7; VS. XIII, 45, etc.), just as in the Buddhism, the Buddha is still the “eye in the world” (*cakkhum loke*). What this eye sees in the eternal mirror is the “world-picture”: “The Primal Spirant (*paramatman*) sees the world-picture (*jagac-citra*, lit. the ‘Picture of what moves’) painted by itself upon a canvas

that is nothing but itself, and takes a great delight therein" (*Sankaracarya, Svatmanirupana*, 95); "sees all things at once in their diversity and incoincidence," (*abhi vi pasyati and abhi sam pasyati*, RV.IX, 74,2, cf. BG. VI, 29-30).

Taken in and by itself this First Spirant, without composition (*advaita*), and at rest (*sayana*), is the "living conjoint principle" of St. Thomas (*Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 117, a. 1 c), the unity of the "cohabitant parents" (*saksita ubha matara*, RV. I, 140, 3, *pariksita pitara*, III, 7, 1, etc.) who are innumerably named, but typically "Intellect" (*manas*) and "word" (*vac*), whose conjunction effects what Eckhart calls "the act of fecundation latent in eternity. Manas and Vac as conjoint pair occur in RV., Brahmanas, and Upanisads, *passim* Vac is *verbum*, and as in Italian, feminine (*la parola*). Cf. Eckhart, "The Father wantons with the Word"; "From the Father's embrace of his own nature (= *svabhava, prakriti*) comes the eternal playing (= *nitya lila*) of the Son." But this unintelligible unity of the Father (-Mother) belongs entirely to the darkness of the "common nest" or "matrix" wherein all things come to be of one and the same ilk (*yatra visvam bhuvaty ekanidam*, RV.khila IV, 10 and VS. XXXII, 8; *sarve asmin deva ekavrto bhavanti*, AV. XIII, 4, 20).

Thus, while the divine intellect and the ideas or forms or eternal reasons apparent to it are one simply *secundum rem*, the latter are at the same time manifold *secundum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi* (St. Bonaventura, I *sent.* d. 35, a. unie., q. 3, concl.). As Plotinus expresses it (IV, 4, 1) "The Highest, as a self-contained unity, has no outgoing effect. But the unity of the power is such as to allow of its being multiple to another principle, to which it is all things."

What is represented in our diagram already presumes the diremption (*dvedha*, *BrhU.* I, 4, 3) of those that had been closely embraced (*samparisvaktau, ib.*), that is, of knower and known, subject and object, essence and nature, Heaven and Earth, as indicated by the remotion of the circumference

from the centre. This diremption and divine procession (*krama = dvita*, *Taittiriya Pratisakhya*, XXI, 16) is coincident with the birth of the Son (Indragani), of Light (*jyotis*), of the Sun, “Savitr the creator, who releases the visible-forms of all things” (*visva rupani prati muncate kavih...savita*, RV. V, 81, 2); “by the separation of the prior, the latter came forth” (*parathamah...krntatrad esam upara udayan*, RV.X, 27, 23). In other words, the act of being implied by the words “I am *that* I am,” “I am Brahman,” although entirely one of self-intention, becomes from an external point of view the act of creation, which is at the same time a generation (*prajanana*) and an intellectual (*manasa*) creation *per artem* (*tasta*) and *ex voluntate* (*yatha vasam, kamya*); for the Son “in whom were created all things” (Col. I, 16), is also their form and exemplar, the whole occasion of their existence, “Exemplar means *raison d’être*”; “Idea is the likeness of a thing, by which it is known and produced”; “Exemplar implies idea, word, art, and reason (*idea, verbum ars et ratio*); idea, with respect to the act of making; and reason, with respect to the act of completing, because it adds the intention of the end in view. And because all these are one and the same in God, one is often said in place of another”. From these definitions the reader will be enabled to judge of the propriety of the employment of the terms in translation. It is accordingly that species and beauty are appropriated to the Son, whom as being the word, *i.e.* as concept, Augustine calls the “art” of God.

The Son or Sun is thus the “single form that is the form of very different things” (Eckhart, resuming in these words the whole doctrine) all of which are in his likeness, as he is in theirs—but with this very important distinction necessitated by the innumerability of the unique centre, that while the likeness in the thing depends upon the archetype, the latter in no way depends upon the thing, but is logically antecedent: “The model of all that is, preexistent, He knows all generations (*satahsatah pratimanam purobhuh visva veda janima*), He smites the Dragon; shining (or ‘sounding’) forth

(*pra...arcan*) from Heaven our Leader, cattle-fain, as Comrade frees his comrades from the curse" (*amuncat nir avadyat*, RV. III, 31, 8). Here the divine providence is directly connected with the act of creation (conquest of the dragon, and release of individual potentialities from the darkness, duress, and deformity or evil of the antenatal tomb to light and operation). "Cattle" in RV. are unrealised potentialities of every kind, of which the proceeding principles desire to take effective possession. The terms "exemplar" and image," which imply in strictness "model" and "copy" can however be used equivocally, and for this reason a distinction is made between the archetype as *imago imaginans* and the imitation as *imago imaginato* (St. Bonaventura, I *sent.*, d. 31, p. 11, l. 1, q. 1 concl.). A corresponding ambiguity is met with in Sanskrit, where the distinction must be made according to the context. As *imago imaginans*, the deity is called "primordial omniform" (*agriyam visvarupam*, RV. I, 13, 10), "the likeness of all things" *visvasya pratimanam*, RV. II, 12, 29, cf. III, 31, 8, cited above), "the omniform likeness of a thousand" (*sahasrasya pratimam visvarupam* VS. XIII, 41), "the counter part of Earth" (*pratimanam prthivyah*, RV. I, 52, 13), "for every figure He hath been the form (*rupam rupam pratirupo babhuva*), that is his likeness that we should regard (*tad asya rupam praticaksanaya*), it is by his magic-powers (*mayabhih*) that He proceed in a plurality of aspects" (*pururupa iyate*, RV. VI, 47, 18).

This likeness by which the Father proceeds is the sacrifice—"yielding himself up to the Angels, he expressed a likeness of himself, to wit, the sacrifice, hence one says, 'prajapati is the sacrifice'" (*atmanah pratimanam asrjataa, yad yajnam, tasmad ahuh 'prajapatir yajnah*, SB. XI, 1, 8, 3; where the relation of the one and the many is again involved, for the Father remains impassible, although in a consubstantial likeness (that of the "Year," *ib* XI, 1, 6, 13) sacrificially divisible. But while in these passages there can be no doubt of the priority of the pattern (*pratimana, pratima, pratirupa*), *pratirupa*

in KBU. cited below is no less surely *imago imaginato*; and although He is the model of all things no one of them can be called his like, "There is no likeness (*pratimanam*) of him amongst those born or to be born" (RV. IV, 18, 4).

The exemplary image, form, or idea is then a likeness in the prior sense of imitable prototype; in fact, "It is inasmuch as God knows his essence as being imitable by this or that creature, that He knows it as the particular reason and idea of that creature" (St. Thomas, Sum Theol., I, q. 15, a. 2 c). An assimilation such as this need not imply a likeness of nature or mode; indeed, *minima assimilatio sufficit ad rationem exemplaris* St. Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 36, a. 3, q.2 concl.). for example, if "He shines upon this world in the aspect of Person" (*purusarupena*, AA. H, 2, 1), if man is "made in the image and likeness of god," it does not follow that God as He is in himself is just like or of the same kind as a man, but only that the form or idea of man is present to his consciousness and being, and be it noted, there on equal terms with an amoeba. And it is in the same way that the human artist embodies the single form entertained in his intellect in other natures such as those of stone or pigment; the *imago imaginans* here as before being the formal cause of the becoming of the *imago imaginata*; as is implied in the dictum *ars imitatur naturam in sua operatione*, where *natura* is "Natura naturans, Creatrix, Deus."

Family and Kinship

The family as depicted in the *Rgveda* and later is patriarchal in which the sons had the utmost importance. The relationship between the father and the son is clear in, "Like a son of his father's do I hold the end of your cloak, O god" (RV III.53.2); "Like sons sitting in front of the father" (I.73.3); "Like the sons obeying the order of their father" (I. 68.5). The practice of adoption is hinted at in the *Rgveda*, but it is also suggested that one's own son is preferred; for the son of another person would revert to the old house: "The one born of another's womb is not pleasing; unstable is he, not apt to be kept firmly; he, indeed, returns to his own abode" (VII 4.8). The son here is of the type of the *dvyamusyayana*, referred in the Smritis, who is the son of both the fathers, the adopting the generative. The purely adopted, or in fact the purchased, son, is indicated from the tale of Sunasepa, where the father sells his son, "Giving him (*i.e.* to the father) a hundred, taking him (*i.e.* the son, Sunasepa) he (Rohita) came to the town" (*Aitareya Br.* VII.16). This would indicate that the father was the absolute master of his progeny and could sell it; but this tale is a record of far by-gone period; and to find another instance of the sale of the sons by a father in the Vedic texts would be next to impossible. In fact, it has been asserted that

ownership did not extend to the issues and the wife, unlike the cows and calves.

The daughter was not necessarily a matter of worry; she was free to move about in fine attire and even could choose her partner of life by herself; "Arrive, O goddess Dawn! like the *kanya*, well-preserved" (I.123.10). The love of the mother for the daughter can be seen from, "like a young grown up girl, bright and well decorated by the mother" (I.123.11). At the marriage-procession they were the chosen sight, and how pleasing they must have been is clear from the fact that the streams of rain (symbolically called the 'streams of ghee') are compared with them. "...like the *kanyas* putting on the auspicious marks to attend the marriage" (IV. 58.9 *kanya iva vahatum etava u anjy'anjanah*). The comment in the *Aitareya Br.* that the daughter is a source of anxiety (cf. VII.13 *krpanam ha duhita*) is not due to lack of love for her; but apprehension. If she went astray she was helped to secret delivery, rather than forsaken (RV II.29.1 "Cast away from me sin like a girl delivering secretly"); and this practice led to the further variety of the son called *kanina* (born of a *kanya*); or, as in the *Vajasaneyi-Sam.*, the *kumari-putra* (XXX. 6 in the context of the symbolic sacrifice, "To infatuation the *kumari-putra*". An intelligent daughter was even desired, "One who desires that a learned daughter, having a full span of life be born to him, should eat, with his wife, a mixture of cooked rice and sesame" (*Brhadaranyaka Upanisad* VI.4.14).

Some passages from the *Rgveda*, read without proper care, appear to suggest promiscuity: Thus "In his own daughter did the Father plant his seed" (RVI.71.5; X.61.6 "As the Father had lust for his Daughter, they both released the 'fluid (retas)'. these passages have been taken by scholars to indicate a social promiscuous custom in far away times; also there is the famous dialogue between the brother and the sister (Yama and Yami) where the sister asks the brother to have

sex with her; and the brother objects to her desire. Even this has been taken to indicate the Vedic social behaviour to by-gone times. This outlook was the product of the early studies of the Vedic texts; and lack proper comparative thinking. Many similar passages in the *Rgveda* and the other Vedic texts, however, point out that they were for a particular ritual purpose and had fertility as the basis. The relationship in these passages was limited to the ritual itself, like that in the ritual of the Horse-sacrifice or the ritual of the Vrsakapi. Out of the span of the ritual, the actors who performed the ritual had plain and normal relationship. In short, the persons acted forbidden sex in the setting of the ritual, which itself was believed to be on the level of the divine. The principle involved was that of *paroksa-priyatva*, which may be understood as “love of symbolic behaviour”, which is common in the Vedic and other tribes. To see actual behaviour in such passages is not to understand them.

The Wife: The status of the wife in the new house was well-understood. As she arrived at her new house with her husband, people gathered to have a look at her and to bless her. “This bride is very auspicious; come along, have a look at her; after bestowing good fortune upon her, return home” (RV X.85.33). She was, now, the high lady of the new house; and this was the blessing given to her: “Be the high-lady to your father-in-law, to mother-in-law, to your sister-in-law, be the high lady to your brother-in-law” (X. 85.46). The word *dampati* (actually *dama* + *pati*, “lord of the house”) for both the bride and the bride-groom indicates that both had equal authority about the house. The word is used in the dual always, when the context indicates this human relationship.

The belief was that the girl was given to the family; hence, when the husband died, his younger brother could take her as wife. This is indicated by, “As does the young widow take to bed her virile *devara*” (X. 40.2). But this was not just for lust. The legal texts, though compiled at a later period, make

it clear that it was for begetting a son upon her; and this again was not for gaining any share in the property as such, but for the performance of religious duties. This must have been, however, a later adjustment, the original idea being that she became just the wife of the younger brother and it was the moral duty of the later to see to it that she was not uncared for. As the son was the most desired wealth in life, this special mode of getting one was practised. This was known as *niyoga*; and for it even another person could be appointed by the elders of the family.

But, in no case was the woman to have her own choice. In *niyoga* the practice was that after the signs of pregnancy the two participating parties would not indulge in the act again; and till the signs of pregnancy they had to unite only once every month in the period. The practice was later abandoned; but that was quite late, about 500 A.D. and, at this period, the unconditioned right of the wife to the property of her dead husband, or share of the family property, was acclaimed. The time and the practice of *niyoga* (they had to unite just before the sunrise and were forbidden to touch each other's mouth) shows that it was believed to be an auspicious act for social need; and it was on the lines of the ancient ritual of the Horse-sacrifice, believing that it was the divine aid for fructification. The *Rgveda* does not indicate union with any other person than the *devara*. This acceptance was done at the funeral of the deceased husband by means of a simple ritual. The widow was made to lie by the side of the dead body of her husband, and then she was taken away by the hand by the *devara* ("Second husband" acc. to *Nirukta* III. 15, one explanation); he is not said to be her husband in the *Rgveda*; he is only the one "who holds the hand; the seeder" (X.18.8 *hastagrabhasya didhisoh*). The expression has also been taken to refer by some to the dead husband, who, in marriage, had held the hand, and with whom her relation as wife has now ended.

Festivals

No specific festivals are clearly mentioned in the Vedic texts prior to the Grhyasutras; and that period falls out of the present study. However, sacrificial sessions such as the Horse-sacrifice (already noted in the *Rgveda* I.16.3) or the Mahavrata must have been occasions of great festivity. Actually these were annual fertility festivities. The Horse-sacrifice also was an annual event in the origin, prior to its embossment in the royal glory at the period of the Brahmanas. As already noted earlier, *samana* was a market-cum-fair, with a socio-economic bias. But the sacrifices had a socio-religious bias. From this point of view, the word *sam-hotra* (un-noticed by scholars) has a special connotation. "In ancient times the woman went to the *sam-hotra* or the *samana*" (RV X. 86.16). *Samhotra* indicates sacrificial context (*sam* + √*hu*, to sacrifice), while *samana* does not, though associated with fire. Some of the reference to the *samana* are: "The great poet wearing auspicious garments, suitable for the *samana*" (said of Soma, RV IX.97.2); "the fire, the goer to the *samana*, has blazed brilliantly" (VII. 9.4): this would indicate that in the *samana* fire was kept burning for the night; "the quiver is the 'father of many' (i.e. arrows); and his stout son (the long shaft) hisses in the *Samana* (VI. 75.5); This indicates the shooting competition.

This should give a fair idea of the social and festive nature at the *samana*. A point to be marked is that more reference to the *samana* in the *Rgveda* are to women; but the absence of the word *patni* in the context of the *samana* would indicate that it was not frequented by married ladies, or ladies of higher status. The women mentioned are of the type of *agru*, *vra*, and the general *yosa*. The type of women that went to the *samana* would be indicated from, "As a *samana*-woman does to a man having good physical form" (VIII. 62.9). The *samhotra* was a community ritual, in which the head of the *grama* was the main performer for the weal of the people. It

is interesting to note that the only reference to *samhotra* in the *Rgveda* has the indication of a pronounced sexy ritual; this is the hymn of Vrsakapi (X. 86). The parallels in this hymn to the Horse-sacrifice are so striking that there is absolutely no doubt about its being a ritual for fertility prior to that of the Horse-sacrifice. In both sex-act and sexy dialogue played a very prominent part; in the former it was the monkey kept for a year prior to ritual-sex and final immolation; in the latter it was the horse for the same purpose.

Fruits

Of the fruits the *urvaruka*, *karkandhu* (*Zizyphus jujube*) with its varieties the *kuvala* and the *badara* and the *pippala* are mentioned. The *karkandhu* and its varieties are not mentioned in the earlier texts. Fruits of some sorts were obviously known in the early Vedic period; for the *Rgveda* has; "O Deity of the forest! after partaking of sweet fruits to his content, a person walks off" (RV. X.146.6). At another place it refers to taking off the fruit from the tree (III.45.4 "As a person having a hooked stick takes out the fruit"). The surmise is irresistible that the early Vedic people did not have orchards; and knew only wild fruit. The *pippala* is also not a specially grown fruit (RV. I.164.20 "Out of the two birds one eats the sweet *pippala*"); and the *karkandhu* etc., are only wild fruit.

Honey is mentioned several times; and that the honey-bees were responsible for it was also known (RV. VIII. "The 'cows' (Soma-juice) are mixed with honey that is given by the bees", *saraghena madhva*).

Sugar-cane is mentioned; and the context is interesting. It comes in a love-charm: "I approach you, O beloved one; with a fully stretched sugar-cane, so that you may not hate me". But the juice is not mentioned. The sugar-cane is not mentioned in the *Rgveda*; but from the *Atharvaveda* (I.34.5 quoted above) and later it is mentioned (cf. *Mait, Sam.* III.

7.9 “His (Prajapati’s) eye-brows are, indeed, the sugar-canes). It is not improbable that dried honey and evaporated sugar-cane juice provided for sweetening purposes. There is, however, no mention of this process; and there is indication that honey, as it is or crystelized into what we may call sugar, itself was mixed, as has been noted above.

G

Ganapati

For an inquisitive mind, it is not only interesting but important too to find out whether Ganapati, the concept of Gannapati or the worship of Ganapati existed in any form in the Vedic times or not. Though certain authorities maybe have their own doubts pertaining to the Vedic existence of Ganapati, yet it will be presently shown that Ganapati was not simply known to the Vedic people but he had attained some significant position in the Vedic period of Indian history.

In consequence of the cultural exchange between the Aryan and the non-Aryan people of India, like some other gods and goodesses, e.g. Rudra-siva (also known as Pasupati, Bhutapati and Sankara), Visnu, Saptamatrikas, etc., who have been regarded originally non-Aryan deities, Ganapati was also, in some unknown way, taken into the Aryan or the Vedic pantheon. Foucher, the celebrated French scholar, too seems to endorse this belief in the following words:

“For those more or less shapeless stones, those roughly carved pieces of wood or summarily outlined figures in clay, all those totems or fetishes—once bathed in the blood of human victims and to day still smeared with minimum were so deeply rooted in an unfathomable past that the aristocracy of new gods,

introduced by the immigrant Aryans were compelled to adopt them in some form or other.

And it seems that had they noty compromised with the deeprooted religious trends of the aboriginal population, the Aryans might have been regarded more strangers, and because of the composite social and religious developments, such factors could not be ignored. Foucher again emphasises this point when he says: "Had they not come to terms with them they would soon have found themselves estranged from the worship of the populace, and their priests deprived of gifts and followers.

Moreover, when Rudra-siva etc., the official gods of the non-Aryan populaton, gradually came to be worshipped by the upper classes of the society, then why not the Yaksas and the Ganas—Vyantara devatas (constituting the Yaksas, Nagas and others) who were the primitive folk gods, and goddesses generally belonging to the esoteric sects, and mainly propitiated by the then lower stratra of the society. The author of the *Manusmrti* also hints at this point addequately.

According to Arvamuthan, though Ganesa-worship did not exists in the Vedic times in the present form, yet he was worshipped in an embryonic form in the *Rgveda*, as his names are associated with the Maruts-Rudra-Brhaspati- and Indra-concepts.

Getty also believes that Ganapati was known to the Vedic people although he has not been mentioned in the assembly of the important Hindu gods and goddesses, most probably because Ganapati might then have been an unimportant village god and worshiped by the lower classes and the uneducated people. But a close study of the literary sources would disprove the contention of Getty that he was a good altogether insignificant.

Ganapati, who has been having various names and appelatons seems to be very much present in the Vedic age. Many of the aspects and traits of Ganesa are sufficiently indicated in

the Vedic literature and are also verified by the later Vedic texts. From certain traits of Brahmanaspati or Vacaspati it seems that he was the Vedic form of our Ganapati (Ganesa).

There is an extremely significant verse in the *Rgveda* which not only hints at the *Danti* aspect of Ganapati but it also identifies, indirectly of course, Brahmanaspati with Danti (Ganapati). *Tiksnasrnga*, it is known, also means sharp tooth. Now, Brahmanaspati, one of the Vedic epithets of Ganesa (Ganapati), is also described as “*Tikсна-srnga*,” This verse, therefore, also identifies Brahmanaspati-Ganapati with Danti (*Tikсна-srnga*) with great authenticity.

The *Aitareya-Brahmana* also quite closely identifies Brahmanaspati with Ganapati.

An interesting *Rgvedic mantra*, while hinting at certain important characteristics of Ganapati, also indicates the identification of Ganapati and Brhaspati. Here, the deity is addressed as Ganapati—the Lord of the Ganas; the king of elders; the Lord of the principle of principles; Unique in wealth; and the Seer of seers. Another verse in the fourth *madala* of the *Rgveda* addresses Ganesa as *prathama* (the first-one and it is also known from subsequent literature that Ganesa has been adored as *agrapujya*).

The *Brahmana-granthas* also indicated the fact that Ganapati, Brhaspati, Vacaspati; etc. were the different Vedic names used synonymously for Ganesa.

Skandasvamin, the spiritual preceptor of Harisvamin—well known commentator of the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (who is supposed to be alive in the *Samvat* 687), also clearly identifies Ganesa (Ganapati) with Brahmanaspati.

Besides the above-mentioned evidences, Ganapati has been identified with Ganesa by many other texts and authorities too. Murir identifies the Vedic Ganapati with the elephant-faced god Ganesa when he says that he was the Veda.

Ganas

We have already discussed the tribal political life of the *Rgvedic* people, a sort of praclass tribal republic, called Ganas, living under several leaders or kings (rajanah) of whom one was the Jyastha raja, i.e., Supreme king. The expression 'rajanah samitaviva explained by Sayana as kings in samiti may be taken to refer to the existence of a political organisation having a popular assembly and many leaders called raja-s. D.P. Chattopadhyaya has rightly pointed out: "Evidently the scholars who have discovered 'monarchy' among Vedic tribes are misled by the word rajan'... Even in the latest stratum of the *Rgveda* we come across the epithet 'raja vratasya' and this is a synonym for 'ganasya senanih'. This means nothing but the tribal chief," (Lokayata, Delhi, 1958). Thus he argues that the word 'rajan' does not always necessarily prove the existence of a monarchical form of government.

Gana, the technical term for a republic, is mentioned at least 46 times in the *Rgveda*, 9 times in the *Atharvaveda* and several times in the *Brahmanas*. This term is used very often in the sense of hosts with reference to Maruts and gods in general. The Maruts are noted as sons of Rudra and so their gana is evidently a republic as sons of Rudra and so their gana is evidently a republic of a tribal unit. Their number was forty-nine ("ekonapanchasat Maruts vibhakta api gana-rupena iva vartanta", *Tundya Maha brahmana*, xix, 14.2) or sixty three, divided into seven groups, each having nine.

The *rc* refers to brahmanaspati, invoked as 'Gananam tva Ganapatim' and as 'Jyestha rajam' meaning 'Lord or leader of heavenly hosts' and King-Supreme' respectively. From this evidence we may say that the Vedic Aryans had been familiar with 'gana'-s, i.e., hosts of gods representing organised groups of people living under several leaders whom they called rajan-s, one of whom was the King Supreme. We have enough instances of gana-s of devas in the Vedic literature. ("Gana devanam rbhavah suhastah"). These divine ganas may be

taken as reflections of human gana-s. The Av. (xix-22, 16-17) speaks of 'gana' and 'mahagana'. Thus we may rest assured that tribal groups lived an organised political life, not under any particular king but under many kings (rajanah). Prof. R.S. Sharma opines that 'gana' in Vedic literature was "a sort of gentle organisation, chiefly of Indo-Aryans" and "in most cases in Vedic literature", this term means "a tribal organisation". Griffith has rendered this term at various parts of the Rgveda as "an assembly of gods or men". But we may find little evidence of any deliberation of any Vedic gana. Jayaswal writes: "The hymns of the Rik and Atharvan... point to the fact that republican form of government in India came long after monarchy and after the early Vedic age.

But it is more likely that the Aryans of even the Rgvedic age when they had to fight out the pre-Aryans before settlement anywhere, engaged in a perpetual state of warfare, keenly interested in gaining cattle and others, grouped together and formed 'ganas'. The *rc* (Yuva sa maruto gana-s-tvesaratho anedyah/subham-yava-pratiskutah") speaks of the Maruts' ganas in the sense of the army and troops. The sun is extolled in Av. As having the troops of Maruts under his command. Indra, the god of war is also described in the *rc* as the leader of the gana of Maruts (...gana-s-te). The Av. states that the troops of Maruts are invoked to come to the rescue of man. ("trayantam-imam, deva-s-trayantam Marutam ganah"). The ganas are described as equipped with swift steeds and weapons like bows, arrows and quivers. In the *rc* (imam cha no gavesanam sataye sisadho ganam/arata-pusannasi srutah.) Pusan is invoked to satisfy the gana of men with the acquisition of kine as spoils of war. So we may say that as in other primitive societies, the Vedic gana was a self made organisation, each member being fully armed for both offensive and defensive purposes.

Jayaswal, the pioneer writer on the republics of ancient India, however, means to say that the early Vedas knew only

monarchy and republican governments were set up long after the early Vedic age; but our above discussion belies his theory, it rather proves that the tribal republics flourished even before the monarchical States. Jayaswal draws our attention to different republican constitutions, noted in AB, viz., Bhanjya Svarajya and Vairajya. From the AB we learn that the kings of the Satvat people were consecrated to rulership of the Bhanjya type in the southern direction and the rules were called Bhojas. ("Daksinasyam disi ye ke cha Satvatam rajano bhoyayaive te' bhisichyante, 'Bhoja' tiyetan abhisiktan achaksata"). Jayaswal says that "the 'Bhoja'-s so called after their rulers, appear in later literature as a sub-division of the Yadavas whose earlier history we find as a league of two republics called Andhaka-Vrsni-s. Now according to AB the Satvats which is the ancient name for the Yadavas were one of the peoples who observed the Bhanjya constitution." "The Andhaka-Vrsni-s were in Gujarat... Gujarat is one of the ancient seats of Bhanjya; but it is likely that the Satvats had spread southwards, as the AB places them in the south".

Similarly, Jayaswal speaks of *svarajyua* as a peculiar constitution, noted in the AB, prevailing in western India. ("Etasyam pratchyam disi ye ke cha Nichyanam rajano ye apachyanam svarajyayaiva te' bhisichyante svarat ityenabhisikstan achaksata). The ruler was called 'svarat' (self-ruler). From the TB we learn that a wise man, performing the Vajapeya sacrifices, attains 'svarajya' ("gacchati svarajyam-agram samanana parayeti"), that is, he becomes the leader of equals and thus attains leadership (jyaisthya). Thus it is clear that the svarat after proving his merit. Evidently this refers to an election or selection of a President among the members of the gana. The AB speaks of such form of government among the Nichyas and Apachyas of western India. The white Yaj. Veda speaks of svarat in northern India, ("svaradasyudichi"). Dr. Keith, however, means by svarajya "self-rule". We may, accept it to mean a form of self-rule, that is, autonomous tribal States.

The AB mentions another non-monarchical form of government, 'vairajya', existing beyond the Himalayas in the north. ("vairajyaya...udichyam disi parena Himavantam janapada Uttarakuravah Uttaramadra iti vairajyavaiva te' bhisichyante"). Jayaswal rendered this term 'vairajya' as the 'kingless constitution', first without a king and secondary without a very distinguished king. In here are 'janapadas', people in opposition to the king mentioned as 'abhisikta' i.e., anointed, whilst in all other passages of the chapter we find instead of them the rajanah or kings. According to Jayaswal, the passage of the AB means that "the whole country or nation (janapada) took the consecration of rulership. There is no doubt that this was a real democratic constitution. By way of example, the Uttaramadras and the Uttarakurus are given in the AB as observing this constitution. The grammatical literature mentions the Madras defined according to 'dis' constitution. The grammatical literature mentions the Madras defined according to 'dis' or direction, which signifies that there were at least two Madras. The W. Yaj. V. however, speaks of this form of government not only in the north but also in the south. Prof. Altekar also maintains that the people called the Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras were 'virat'-s that the whole tribes were consecrated to rulership, and that Vairajya means 'a kingless state'.

But Dr. Keith holds an opposite view, when he means 'sovereignty' by 'vairajya'. (Rg. Brahmanas, tr. by Keith). Dr. Kane also fails to follow Jayaswal in the interpretation of this passage of the AB and remarks: "It passes one's understanding how a paramount sovereign is promised vairajya (in Jayaswal's sense) in the Aitareya Brahmana." It is really very difficult to agree with the view that the whole people were consecrated to rulership of the land. Besides, the Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras as described in the AB, are believed to have lived in a semi-mythical land, as evidenced by the story of Atyarati Janantapi. Dr. Saletore has also remarked that "any interpretation leading to their alleged republican or democratic government in those distant ages would be far fetched and doubtful."

The passage of the AB means that “whoever desires a king to attain supremacy over all kings, to attain to the rank of an emperor (ekarat) of the whole earth bounded by the sea up to its very extremities should be consecrated and crowned with the Aindra Mahabhiseka after making him take an oath.” (Sa ya icched-evamvit-ksattriyam-ayam...sarvanillokan vindetayam sarvesam rajnam sraisthyam-atisham paramatam gacchet samrajyam bhanjvam svarajyam vairajyam paramesthyam rajyam maharajyam-adhipatyam-ayam samanta-parayayi syat-sarvabhaumah sarvayusa antad-aparadhat Prthivyai samudra-paryantaya kearaditi tam-etena Aindrena mahabhisekena ksattriyam sapayitva’ bhisincht). The meanings of the words ‘bhanjya’, ‘svarajya’, ‘vairajya’, ‘paramesthy’ etc. are obscure. Dr. Kane’s suggestion that “they are probably hyperbolical and grandiloquent words to convey supreme power” can not be set aside. According to Vedic texts even a brahmin might attain ‘svarajya by performing the Vajapeya sacrifice. (Vajapeyena savarajyakamo yajeta). Paramesthin means Prajapati, and so ‘pamamesthya’ seems to mean godlike power.

It is more difficult to explain why one, rising high from ‘samrajya’ to ‘paramesthya’, if taken in the sense of higher and higher grades of kingship, should be aspiring to descent to lower levels of ordinary kingship, denoted by the term ‘rajya’ and then again to ‘maharajya’. Sayana explains this passage as “samrajyam dharmena palanam bhanjyam bhoga-samrddhi svarajyam-apparadhinatvam vairajyam-itarebhyo bhupatibhyo vaisistyam cha. Etaduktam-aihakam. Atha amusmikal-uchyate-Paramesthyam Prajapatilokarpraptih tatra rajyam-sisaryam maharajyam tatratyebhya itarebhya adhikyam”; but this explanation is far from satisfactory; especially while speaking of higher grades of kingship, the meaning of a high status of a king beyond his worldly existence is extremely farfetched. The term ‘vairajya’ may be taken also in the sense of the status of the most distinguished (‘vi’ meaning ‘visesena’) and so the sense of a kingless State or republic can not be accepted to be final and

conclusive. Other terms—'svarajya', 'samrajya' etc. indicate that the idea of some monoarchical States having suzerainty over other kingdoms was known in the times of the Ait. Brahmana, if, not earlier, even in the Rgvedic period, as evidenced by the rc.

"A yad-vamiya-chaksasa Mitra vayam cha surayah/
Vyachisthe vahupayye yatemahi svarajye//".

The Maitri Upa. refers to fifteen chakravartin-s, synonym for Sarvabhauma (Lord of the whole earth), explained by Panini.

We have already noticed that there were aristocracies, composed of Ksatriya-s in the Vedic age, but it is difficult to determine whether or how far these aristocracies were republican in character. It is more likely that republican governments were associated with classes that worked spontaneously to maintain their political individuality. From our discussion on popular assemblies like sabha samiti, Vidatha etc. we shall notice that every member of the said assemblies took up arms, whenever needed. We may equally say that among other autonomous communities the self-organised political body called the 'Gana' also served the military interests. The remnant of such an organisation is found in Panini's "ayudhajivi sangha"-s and Kautilya's 'vartasastro' pajivi sangha's. Panini refers to religious bodies where there was no difference between the 'higher' and the 'lower' by his rule—"sanghe chanuttaradhorye" and also to political bodies by the rule "sanghoghau gana-prasamsayoh". Dr. Bhandarkar says that Panini means by Sangha or gana "a combination of individuals formed for a definite object"; whereas Dr. R.C. Majumdar thinks of sangha as a "definite organisation bound by law and regulations".

Bhandarkar explains the 'ayudhajivi sangha' of Panini as "tribal bands of mercenaries, that is, a type of the king's army. But Jayaswal takes the sangha of Panini in the sense of republics. The Yaudheyas were one of the 'ayudhajivi sangha'-s in Panini's time, confirmed by their coins with the legend "Yaudheya-ganasyajaya". Evidently the Yaudheyas were a

military clan who had a republican form of government (gana). Kautilya refers to “Ksattriya-sreni”-s of Kamboja, Surashtra and others who lived by agriculture, trade and use of arms,— (varta-s ‘astro’pajivinah) and also to political groups like those of Licchavis, Vrijika, Mallaka, Mudraka, Kukkura, Kuru, Panchala and others who lived by the title of raja. (“rajivinah”), Kuru, Panchala and others who lived by the title of raja. (“rajasabdo’pajivinah”). Dr. R.C. Majumdar explains this latter type of sangha as “an organisation of which the members bore the title of King”. But Dr. U.N. Ghoshal suggests that Kautilya’s first type means an organised body of men living broadly by the combined arts of peace and war, while his second type signifies by contrast a political community applying the royal title to its single (or multiple) executive head. While Bhandarkar explains the ‘vairajya’ of the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras as ‘the democratic government in India’, flourishing in the later Vedic period, Dr. Ghoshal thinks of these “two semi-mythical peoples indicated by the term ‘janapada’ as yet too imperfectly peoples, indicated by the term ‘janpada’ as yet too imperfectly organised to have regular rulers of the type known elsewhere.” Dr. Ghoshal mentions also the fact that “the use of virat in the sense of a particular type of ruler is known alike to the Vedic samhitas and the Brahmanas”.

Dr. Bhandarkar, again, in connection with the passage of the Brahadaranyaka Upanisad mentioning ‘gana’, says that “the crucial passage speaks of gana-s only in the case of Vaisyas and not of Brahmins, Ksattriyas and Sudras. It appears that we had commercial ganas (sreni-s) first among the Ksattriyas”. (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, of D.R. Bhandarkar). But it is hard to believe so. The republics of the Vedic age were born of the interests of the whole clan and hence no varna distinction can be thought of them at least in the earlier Vedic period. It was only in the days of Brahmanas that the caste system grew up rigidly on Indian soil.

It has already been noted that the leader of the gana was

given the title 'raja' even in the Rgvedic period, as evidenced by the terms 'ganapati' applied to Indra in the Rc. ("Ni su sida ganapate ganesu") and in the rc ("Gananam tva ganapatim hava-mahe") and 'Brahmanspati' in the rc. The ganapati was evidently elected, as the Vidatha elected its priest, though of course, the Vedas are silent on this point. There is at least no vedic proof of the hereditary character of a ganapati. The Gana practised some sort of primitive communism by distribution of equal shares among its members, as evidenced by the rc and AV., already quoted and discussed before. The Ganapati might have enjoyed special shares, though there is no Vedic evidence of it and it may be noted that such was the practice among early Greek tribes. (George Thomson, Studies in Anc. Greek Society), and if he did, it is not unlikely that he accumulated wealth enough gradually to be recognised in the later period as a hereditary 'rajan'. The fact of voluntary offerings to Marut-gana ("accha rse marutam ganam") and to Ganapati (II.23.1) and the Vedic phrases like 'ganebhyah svaha' and 'ganapatibhyah svaha' in Baudhayana Grhya-sutra leads us to assume that voluntary taxes were given to the human ganapati even in the tribal society when the Vedic Aryans moved from one place to another in search of fresh pasture for their cattle. The TB ("Marutah esa bhavati annam vai Marutah") describing Maruts as grains showing distinctly the change of occupation of the Aryans into agriculture. The Rv. and AV. show the practice of singing and drinking among the members of the 'gana'.

The Vedic 'gana' was essentially a tribal republic, serving not only political but also social interests, and with little class-distinction. The leaders of the ganas, as already noted, took the title 'rajan' and it is more likely that these clan-republics were later replaced by monarchies. Sometimes monarchy was again dissolved and replaced by a new republic, as evidenced by Arrain from Megasthenes who refers to the establishments of the republic thrice. Only in the days of the Upanisads when new ideas prevailed in the religious world,

political ideas also underwent a change and as a result monarchies with the importance of the Brahmanas and Ksatriyas more emphasised were attempted to be replaced later on in the post Vedic age by republics on the pattern of primitive republics of the Rgvedic age in which equality in political and social set-up was aimed at, but could not be materialised, as evidenced by the republics of the Licchavis and Sakyas and others in which, according to Prof. Ghoshal, "Ksatriya aristocracy ranked higher in the social scale than the Brahmanas and ganapatis."

Now let us enquire into some units of political interest which appeared in India in the period of transition from the State of tribal policy to that of Monarchical States. We have already discussed how the centre of gravity of Aryan civilisation was shifted from the north-west of India to the Easter regions. In the Rgvedic age the cradle land of Vedic Aryans was located in the Saptasindhu region and the Aryans spread in different places eastward upto the region of the Sarasvati-Drsadvati valley, the home of the Bharatas. In the later Vedic period of the Brahmanas and Upanisads the Aryans extended further eastward up to Berar and southward up to the Vindhya range and even up the kingdom of Vidarbha beyond the Vindhya. In the early Vedic age the Vedic Aryans organised themselves into tribal organisations, as those of the Bharatas, the Yadus, the Anus, the Druhyus, the Turvasas and others, who had no fixed geographical boundary or territorial basis. These tribes were still nomadic moving from place to place and their States had no fixed geographical location. Their chiefs moved with their people, tribal in character. But in the later Vedic age, as shown before, things changed substantially for the consolidation of the Aryans and formation of monarchical States on a territorial basis. Hence arises the question of discussing different units having distinct role in the political life of the land, like Kula, Grama, Vis, Jana and Rastra.

Geometry

Vedic geometry formally may be defined as the discipline of geometry based on Vedic concepts. To start with, we may take the available Vedic literature as the source of Vedic knowledge and Vedic concepts. However, when one would advance with the studies of the available Vedic literature one may advance the studies in terms of the inner evidence of the available Vedic literature.

Vedic geometry is one of the basic ancient disciplines of knowledge. Within Vedas all disciplines of knowledge merge their indentities into the single discipline of pure knowledge.

Part of single discipline of knowledge: One may approach the ancient discipline of Vedic geometry as part of the single discipline of pure knowledge.

Pure knowledge as single discipline: Veda means pure knowledge. Pure knowledge has self-organising power of the order of Nature. Studies of mathematical basis of Vedic literature reveal that Vedic seers were not only knowing four and higher dimensional spaces but also they had made great use of the same in organisation of the scriptures. The unique success of Vedic scriptures lies in their organisations being in unison with the self-organising power of the knowledge content. Accordingly, knowledge and organisation of knowledge emerge to be two distinct disciplines of studies. The ancient discipline of Vedic geometry falls with the latter discipline of studies of organisation of knowledge to be in unison with the self-organising power of the pure knowledge.

Organisation as per the knowledge content: Ideal being achieved by Vedic scriptures is that their organisations are as per their knowledge contents. Vedic literature preserves the knowledge of real four and higher dimensional words on format of representative regular bodies of those spaces. The present introductin of study of ancient discipline of Vedic geometry is being confined to the organisation of knowledge on

the formats of representative regular bodies of 4, 5 & 6 spaces.

Mathematical basis of knowledge and geometric formats of organisation of knowledge: Studies of mathematical basis of Vedic literature reveal that Vedic knowledge is organised on geometric formats. This unique achievement of organisation of knowledge as per the self-organising power of the knowledge content makes the Vedic literature a class in itself and it can unfold from within with flourishment of the seed thought well preserved in the available Vedic literature.

Organisation of knowledge: Vedic seers made great use of the geometric formats of representative regular bodies of real 4, 5, & 6 spaces and as such the basic results of ancient discipline of Vedic geometry are well preserved in the organisations of the available Vedic scriptures.

Vedic geometric results at the organisational formats of Vedic scriptures: The ancient discipline of Vedic geometry can be well reconstructed on the basis of the geometric formats of available Vedic scriptures. The organisation of scriptures being, as per the self-organising power of the knowledge content, organised on the geometric formats, so Vedic literature need be approached scripture-wise.

Vedic literature need be approached scripture-wise: Each scripture need be taken as a self-contained scripture. With the identification of the geometric format of the scripture, the subject matter of study, most of the interpreted difficulties get solved automatically. For this search, naturally we have to go by the technique of self-feeding as much as that the organisation of scriptures and knowledge content of scriptures are to unfold sequentially the organisation feeding upon the organisational format.

Knowledge content need be approached in terms of the organisation of the scripture: Therefore, as a first principle, the knowledge content of Vedic scripture need be approached

in terms of the organisation to the scripture. The pure knowledge *i.e.* the establishment of lord Brahma presented in Brahmpuram can be approached in terms of the organisation of the geometric format of the manifested idol of four head lord. Likewise, the enlightenment of Lord Shiva preserved in Shivpuram can be approached in terms of the organisation of the geometric format of the manifested idol of five head lord and the enlightenment of Lord Vishnu can be approached in terms of the organisation of the geometric format of manifested idol of six head lord.

Of the order of Nature: Each Vedic scripture, as such, need be taken up as of the order of the Nature as that the knowledge content as well as the organisation of the scripture would be of the order of the representative regular body of the concerned space, the subject matter of enlightenment of the scripture.

Ancient knowledge is of the order of Nature: The ancient Vedic knowledge is of the order of the Nature as that the subject matter of knowledge is the Nature itself and Vedic seers not only comprehended it fully but also successfully preserved the same by adopting the unique technique of organisation to run parallel to the knowledge-content. Accordingly, knowledge of 4-space stands preserved on rigid body of 4-space and so on.

Organisation of knowledge is of the knowledge of Nature: Rigid body of 4-space is the Nature's book of 4-space. Likewise, the rigid body of 5-space is the Nature's book of 5-space and so on. Accordingly, rigid body of 4-space as replica of 4-space miniature is the 4-space itself. Likewise, rigid body of 5-space as replica of 5-space miniature is the 5-space itself and so on. Therefore, the organisation of knowledge on geometric formats of rigid bodies of dimensional spaces is the knowledge of the Nature of those spaces.

Ancient discipline of geometry is of the order of Nature:

Ancient discipline of knowledge of Vedic geometry being the study of the whole range of dimensional spaces, is of the order of the Nature.

Gharma (Cauldron)

The Pravargya rite at the commencement of the sacrifice is of mystic importance. The milk is boiled in a cauldron called Mahavira and is offered to the sun. It is the head of the sacrifice. This *Gharma* (cauldron) is a divine pairing. It is a male generative organ. The two handles are the two testicles. The spoon is the highbone. Milk is the seed. This seed is poured in Agni, as the birth-place of the gods, a generation. Agni is the birth-place of the gods.

From Agni all gods come into existence. The sacrificer comes into existence from Agni, from the libation offered in Agni. His new and divine birth is composed of the *rcs yajus*, *samans* and *Brahman* and becomes immortal and attains to the status of a deity. The sacrificer like Agni becomes a deity and an immortal one. This is his new birth making him attain the immortality. He who knowing thus sacrifices according to the rite is born a new from the womb of Agni and the offerings, and participates in the nature of the three Vedas and the Brahman. He becomes immortal and is absorbed in the deity (AB 1.22).

In the AB and KB we find the thought that the sacrifice is the Brahman and that by the performance of it one becomes immortal and divine.

Ghramsa

In a list of lexemes and formations common to both Vedic and Prakrit, Pi registers "AMg. *ghimsu*, ved. *ghramsa*", an equation which, though not totally acceptable as such, nevertheless paves the way to the more convincing etymology "*ghimsu*- m. 'heat' rather < *Ghrmss*", as proposed by R.L. Turner (IAL 4391; 4530).

As a matter of fact, Charpentier rightly underlined that, if only from a phonetic point of view, Pi's conjecture is unsatisfactory (Utt p. 285, ad Utt 2.8). Hence, starting from the equivalence commonly alleged by the Jaina commentaries, viz. *ghimsu* = *grisme*, "in the hot (season)" (cf. *infra*), Charpentier prefers to take *ghimsu* as "a loc. pl. *ghrmsu*, from ved. *ghrams* (sic), cp. *pumsu-* // (cp. *massu*)".

In favour of this etymology, it is true it could be argued that a gen. pl. appears to be at the origin of pa. *gimhana* (<*gimhana* (*m*) *mase*, Sadd V 1359, s.v. *gimha* (*grisma*); moreover it could be pointed to the common p.a. dvandva *hemanta-gimhisu*, undoubtedly a loc. pl., "in summer and winter". Nevertheless, Charpentier's suggestion is complicated and would need further justification (cf. L. Alsdorf, IJ 2 (1958), 269; *infra*). As it is, it is an attempt to elucidate two questions, one pertaining to grammar, the other to semantics: in both respects, there is an objection to be made.

First, it is generally accepted that *ghrams* (AV 7.18.sa; padap. *ghrn*) results infact from an haplology, from *ghramsas*. Secondly *ghramsa-* never denotes the hot season or summer, but refers to the sun's burning heat, or possibly sunshine, which, in the RV as in the AV is eventually opposed to snow or (bitter) cold; it is fared, and the speaker seeks protection against it.

In contrast, Turners proposed etymology, economic as it is, appears to be quite plausible: for amg. *ghimsu* could well continue on o.i.a. *ghramsa* is derived. For the latter, Mayrhofer refers to *ghrnoti* (EWA 1364): *ghrmsu*, then, perhaps has the same (rare) suffix *-su-* known due to RV *daksu-*, *dhaksu-* (paroxytone, "brenned", AiG 2.2.926; from DAH), The adjective, with an original meaning "burning", might have evolved into the corresponding substantive, "the burning, the burn" (compare *tapyatu*, ved. "gluhend", TS "Glut", AiG 2.2.667; and IAL 5686, s.v. *tapyatu-*, hot, where Turner also alleges *tapnu-*, cf. AV. *tafnu-* "fever").

In fact, from a synchronic point of view, it might prove preferable to derive both *ghramsa-* and *ghrmsu-* from a base *ghrams-* (cf. AiG 2.2 922): in which case *ghrmsu-* might from the start have been either an adjective or a substantive (cf. *rsu-* “nur im RV and nur im GPI.) ‘Glut’ oder ‘Strahl’; *indu-*, *v idhu...*, ib 476).

Whatever that may be, the above assumed connexion between *v. ghramsa-* and amg. *ghimsu* tallies perfectly with the oldest amg. data, as evidenced in two of the “senior” texts of the Svetambara canon, viz the Suyagada (1.4.2.10) and the Uttarajjhaya (Ee 2.8c. = 36cv, JAS 10c = 38c), the exact meaning of which has generally not been fully grasped.

Suy 1.4 is the well known chapter *itthi-parinna*, or instruction(s) concerning the (right monastic behaviour towards) women. It is written in that “old form of the arya” which soon became obsolete so that many alterations crept into a number of passages, as shown in a masterly way by L. Alsdorf.

The reedition of, and critical commentary on, Suy 1.4 published by this scholar in IJ 2 (1958), 249-10 will help solve the riddle of *ghimsu*.

The stanza 1.4.2.10 refers to the innumerable stupid demands which can be expected from womenfolk. It runs:

suphanim ca saya-pagae
amalagdi udaga-haranam ca
tila-karanim anjana-saldgam
ghimsu-vihunayam vijanehi
 (for *pi y'anahi~-anehi?*, L.A., p. 268).

“Find the pot/.and the jar for fetching water, the stick to paint the tilaka, the pin to apply the collyrium, (and) and fan!” (L.A.’s transl.).

The lesson retained above for pada d results from a correction by Alsdorf, who points to the metrical defect of the vulgata

text, scil. *ghimsu me vidhunayam* (retained in the 1978 JAS edition). Alsdorf rightly takes *ghimsu-vihunaya* as a compound, “heat-dispeller”, i.e. “fan” (compare JAS, p. 51 n. 19, quoting Silanka *vidhunakam vyajanakam*).

Alsdorf’s reading and interpretation have a double advantage: (1) the compound *ghimsu-vihunmayam* runs parallel with the three preceding tatpurusas (especially with *udaga-haranam* and *tila-karanim*); (2) as far as the meaning of the phrase is concerned, it is exactly to the point, whereas “give me./the jar to fetch water in ./, or the fan when it is hot”, as translated by Jacobi (SBE 45.277) following the commentaries, is neither really topical nor as vivid as the rest of the scene. Thus from a careful study of the text, with due attention paid to the prosodic pattern of the old aryas, it can be concluded that *ghimsu* was misunderstood practically since the beginnings of the commentarial tradition. Nevertheless, the authentic since the beginnings of the commentarial tradition. Nevertheless, the authentic lesson and probable original meaning “heat” of *ghimsu* can be deduced from a critical reading of the passage.

The evidence from Utt is of a different kind. The phrase in which *ghimsu* is set is a regular odd pada of a pathya sloka, recurring in the second lesson, which deals with the 22 *parisahas* or “troubles” which assail the ascetic: they are examined in turn, each in two successive slokas.

After the third *parisaha* viz. the attacks of cold (*siyam*), which from the subject of the 6th and 7th stanzas, the next two slokas warn against the misery resulting from “buring heat”:

usinam-pariyavenam paridahena taji
ghimsu va pariyavenam sayam no paridevae
unhabhitatte (Ee JAS, v.1 -o) *mehavi*
sinanam no vi (vi no Ee) patthae
gayam no parisincejja
no viejja ya appayam.

The commentators assign specialised meanings to *usina-p.*, *paridahena* as well as to *ghimsu*; their explanations are reflected in Jacobi's translation: "If he suffers from the heat of hot summer, he should not lament the loss of comfort.

A wise man, suffering from heat should not long for a bath./ or fan himself.

In this development, there can be little doubt that (8a-b) *usina-paritavena*, *paridahena* and (9a) *unhabhitatte* are explanatory and redundant synonyms or doublets (*usina—unha*), emphasising the inconveniences suffered by the ascetic "terrified by the extreme burning of the heat, by (its) extreme incandescence,... scorched and burnt by the heat". The "oriental" phonology and morphology of 8a-b (*usina...tajjie*) perhaps point to a comparatively older layer, the first pada being glossed, in 9a, with the more common *unhabhitatte*.

In turn these two padas themselves look like anticipated paraphrases of the following *ghimsu va pariyavenam*, the exact meaning of which has becoming blurred.

Gopatha Brahmana

The Atharvaveda was itself compiled, as we have shown, during the Brahmana period, presumably sometime about 2,700 BC. The Gopatha Brahmana attached to it was composed at a far later period; most probably after the Vaitana Sutra, as pointed out by Macdonell, which it clearly follows in its second half. Some passages are taken in its, from the Aitareya, the Kaushitaki, the Satapatha and even the Shavimsa. Although thus falling outside the Brahmana period (3000-2000 BC), we treat of it here as it claims to be a Brahmana and is treated as such by later authors, being the only the attached to the Atharvaveda.

This Brahmana has been edited among others by Rajendralal Mitra in the Bibliotheca India Series and we base our

observations on this edition. The Brahmana is divided into two parts called Purva Gopatha and Uttara Gopatha. There are five Prapathakas (chapters) in the former and six in the latter. These contain from 39 to 65 paragraphs or Kandikas, the Purvardha having 135 and the Uttarardha 123, in all 258 Kandikas. These usually consist of five or six sentences which are often very long.

The style of the Brahmana is that of the other Brahmanas, involved and desultory. The language is not, however, similar to that of the other Brahmanas, being clearly modern and not Vedic Sanskrit, though Rajendralal thinks that the language is also the same, having the same archaic expressions and grammatical irregularities (p, 11 Intro.) The treatment of the subject is of the same kind as in the other Brahmanas, never detailed and systematic as in the Sutras, full of imaginary legends and fanciful explanations, always quoting the dictum of the Upanishads, "The gods hate the direct and love and hidden or occult." One is always put in mind of the fact that this queer explanation is first given by the Chhandogya Upanishad (तस्मादिदं सन्तमिन्द्रमित्याचक्षते परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः पत्यक्ष्यद्विष।) Thus 17 has तं वा एतं वरुणं सन्तं वरूण इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवा भवन्ति प्रत्यक्ष द्विषः (भवन्ति being added). We have this dictum constantly invoked throughout this Brahmana. "Myths, legends and parables constitute the staple of the work, but they are short and pointless. They are intended to explain the origin, nature and fruits of particular ceremonies" (Raj. Intro, p. 12).

This Brahmana was plainly written at a time when the Atharvaveda was not only recognised as a Veda but had even advanced to the highest position among the Vedas. It begins with the legend that Brahman first stood alone, (the wording here is plainly copied from Upanishads "ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीत्.....तदैक्षत.....महद्वै यक्षम्"), that is created first water from its sweat and Bhrigu from its seed thrown in this water, that Bhrigu became Atharvan when he looked down (अथ

अर्वाक्) and that Atharvan created ten Atharvana Rishis of one Rik, two Riks & c. and from these, the ten Atharvana Arsheyas of 11 Riks etc. up to twenty. This refers plainly to the Atharvaveda, as we now have it in two parts, viz. the first half with ten chapters and the second half with chapters eleven to twenty. Indeed it is actually stated that these twenty Rishis saw Mantras which form the *Atharvaveda*. From Atharvaveda was created Om, from it, the three worlds, earth, sky and heaven; from them the three gods, Agni, Vayu and Sun, from them the three Vedas, Rik, Yajuh and Saman; from them the sea, from it Varuna, from Varuna or Mrityu, Angiras from him, the twenty Angirasas and from them the ten Angirasa Arsheyas and from them the Angirasa Veda. (Here Angirasa Veda is treated as distinct from Atharvaveda). From it was born the word Janat. It stood up and hence the *Angirasas when reciting stand up*. From it, when looking in five directions, sprang five Vedas, Sarpaveda from the east, Pisachaveda from the south, Asurveda from the west and Itihasaveda from the north, while Puranaveda sprang from above, the Dhruva direction.

The above legend though absurd is very interesting. In the first place, the legend shows that the Gopatha was written at a time when the Atharvaveda had advanced in popular estimation to the first position among the Vedas. Atharvan was Bhrigu, born from Brahman itself. In previous Vedic literature we find Bhrigu as a son of Varuna, one of the highest Vedic gods, if not the highest. Varuna here is born from Samudra, born from the three Vyahritis, born from Rigveda, Yajurveda and Samaveda, which were born from Omkara, itself born from Atharvaveda. Atharvaveda is thus the first Veda from which the other three Vedas were born though Omkara, "Atharvaveda should, therefore, be studied first by every student before he learns the other Vedas, thus says Vyasa". Brahman the presiding priest, who before was to do his duty with the help of Rigveda, Yajurveda and Samaveda was now to be an Atharvavedin.

The directions assigned to the five subsidiary Vedas again are suggestive. Sarpa-Veda was born from the east. Probably the Nagas were found chiefly in the eastern parts of India. Pisachas and their allies the Rakshasas were found in the south, there being probably still cannibals to the south of the Vindhya. The Asuras were in the west and Varuna was born of the western sea. They were probably the Iranians or Assyrians or Greeks, with their god Uranus. They were also masters of Maya or illusion. Mayasura in the Mahabharata had such Mayas constructed in the court-hall he built for the Pandavas. Why Itihasa is assigned the north and Purana the headward direction is not imaginable. In the Chhandogya there is a mention of these Vedas as subjects of study; but they are not called Vedas and Itihasa-Purana is one subject and Sarpa-Devajanavidya is also one, while Asurveda is not mentioned at all.

From the description of the Atharva ten Rishis of one, two and so on upto ten Riks and ten Arsheyas of 11 Riks and so on to twenty, it is, as said above, quite clear that there is here a description of the Atharvaveda as we now have it. What then is the necessity of Vimsat (20) Angirasa Rishis and ten Arsheyas and which is their Angirasa Veda is a riddle. The order of these Riks is here reversed. We have first Rishis of 16, 15, 12 Riks and then of one, three, four, five, six and seven Riks. "From it the word Janat was produced and by reciting this word you have all the merit of reciting the Angirasa Veda." 'This Veda went above' perhaps shows that this is a heavenly Veda not to be found on earth and the word Janat alone survives of it and it is enough for securing the merit of reciting the heavenly Angirasa Veda.

Having discussed this legend of the birth of the Atharvaveda in detail, we may glance over the succeeding contents of the work. We have first the glorification of Om and of Gayatri in the remaining of the first chapter. The second treats of the duties of Brahmacharya. A period of twelve years of each

Veda is prescribed; but a lesser period according to one's capacity or weakness is also allowed. The third begins with how the Hotri should know Rgveda, the Adhvaryu Yajurveda and the Udgatri, Samaveda, while the fourth, Brahman, should be one versed in Atharvangirasas. Various imaginary legends are then given about priests. In Khanda 18, we have a detailed description of how the sacrificial animal is to be divided among the priests and others. The fourth chapter relates to the ordination of priests and also to the year as a sacrifice. The fifth treats of the Samvatsara Sattrā first and subsequently enumerates and describes the various sacrifices, अग्न्याधेय, पूर्णाहुति; अग्निहोत्रं, दर्शपूर्णमासौ, आग्रयणं, चातुर्मास्यानि, पशुबन्धः, अत्रिष्टोमः, राजसूय वाजपेयः, अश्वमेधः, पुरुषमेधः and सर्वमेध. The contents of the Uttarardha are very desultory. "No subject is taken *ab initio*, but casually with reference to some particular point of doubt. The story of Rudra's fight for a share in sacrificial oblations is given in the first chapter. The second chapter begins with flesh offerings for the various deities. The third chapter relates to the mystic syllables *Vashat* and *Himkara*. "The last three chapters treat of morning, noon and evening rites in connection, with Ekaha, Uktha, Ekashtaka &c." (p. 37).

The author of this Brahmana is apparently Gopatha. The name Gopatha appears as that of a Rishi in the list of Rishis of the Atharvaveda, though not in the list of Rishis of the other Vedas. The author may, we think, be a real descendant of that Rishi. The late Dr. Gune pointed out that the Gopatha Brahmana was known to Yaska. The latest date for the Brahmana would accordingly be before 1000 BC. The earliest date may be fixed at about 1500 BC, from the fact that the Brahmana is clearly posterior to the ten principal Upanishads, many expressions and legends being copies from them or invented after their model and from the fact that Kalpa works for each Veda are mentioned in P.V. 25 सन्ति चैषा समाना मन्त्रा कल्पाश्चा ब्राह्मणानि च। व्यवस्थानं तु पृथग्वेदेषु तत्स्मृततम्॥

The author probably lived in the middle country, as among the

peoples mentioned are Kuru-Panchala, Kasi-Megadha and other northern ones. From the many details about grammar given in P. I, 24 ओंकार पृच्छामः को धातुः किं प्रतिपदिकं किं नामाख्यातं किं लिङ्गं किं वचनं का विभिनि कः प्रत्ययः कः स्वरः उपसर्गः निपातः को विकारः को कः विकारी कति मात्राः कति वर्णा &c.,) the author may have belonged to the north-west. He in one place given the first Mantras of the three Vedas correctly and for Atharvaveda the first Mantra given is शं नो देवीरभिष्टये। &c., the same as given by Patanjali and as recited now by all Brahmins at the time of their Sravani, as stated before. The author, therefore, knows the Pippalada recension only and probably belongs to Kashmir where that recension is found.

The Brahmana mentions many modern ideas such as ब्रह्म ह वै ब्रह्माणं पुष्करे ससृजे (p. 16) or that a Brahmin-should not sing or dance and be called Aglagridha (तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो नैव गायेत्र नृत्येन्माग्लागृधः, P. II.21) or that the gods began a sacrifice which the Asuras and Rakshasas wished to destroy (p. VI, 6) or that 'Om' should be pronounced when reciting any Veda or Vedic verse, or that before beginning any rite, water-sipping or Achamana should be done thrice. It is interesting to note that this Achamana or thrice sipping of water is not accompanied by the uttering of names of Shrikrishna, Keshava, Narayana and Madhava as now, but by the sukta जीवास्य & c.* What is Parisumbhana which follows twice, one cannot tell (त्रिराचमनं द्विः परिशुम्भनम्).

The last Khanda of Prapathaka V, Purvardha, consists of verses framed after Vedic mantras in which greatness of the Atharvaveda is extolled. The sacrifice which is described as सप्ततन्तु and एकविंशतिसंस्थ in the beginning is said to be sevenfold, viz. seven Sutyas (Somas seven Pakayajnas and seven Haviryajnas, in all twenty-one, and all these are performed by Angirasas. "The followers of the three Vedas go to Thrivishtapa or Trivida or Naka; but those of the Atharvaveda

* निरङ्गुष्ठे पावाणमृतमस्यमृतोपस्तरणमस्यमृतायोपस्तृणामिति पाणाबुदकमानीय जीवास्येति सूक्तेन त्रिराचामति (P. I. 39).

go to the great Brahma-lokas beyond them.” These verses are distinctly not Vedic; and there are slokas also quoted now and then in the book which do not claim to be Vedic. But where Riks are distinctly mentioned as Vedic, being introduced with the words तदेतद्वचाम्युक्तम् &c., the reference is not given and probably can never be traced, though attempts should be made to trace them to the Rigveda or the Atharvaveda.

In some cases, however, the Riks can easily be located as many statements in Gopatha are mere copies of those in Aitareya made with a few variations. Thus in U.VI, we have in the beginning तान् वा एतान् सम्पातान् विश्वामित्रः प्रथममपश्यत् which Vamadeva appropriated (R. IV, 19, 22, 23). This is a copy of Aitareya VI. 18. The new Sampata hymns seen by Visvamitra and others are then quoted which are the same as those in A.B. with one or two less. Visvamitra's new suktas सद्यो ह जातो वृषभः कनीनः (R. III. 48) and अभितष्टेव दौधया मनीषा (R. III. 38) which is attributed to Prajapati in the Rigveda are referred to here. Those mentioned as of Vasishtha are इन्द्रः पूभिदातिरद्वासमकैः, एक इन्द्रव्यश्वर्षणीनाम् and यस्तिग्मशृङ्गो वृषभो न भीमः. The first is, however, by Visvamitra (R. III.34), the second is by Bharadvaja (R. VI.22), while the third is really that of Vasishtha (R. VII. 19). How these Rishis are changed, it is difficult to explain. That some of these suktas from the Rigveda are given in Atharvaveda XIX has already been noted. Thus य एक इन्द्रव्यश्वर्षणीनां is A. XX.3 and यस्तिग्मशृङ्गो is A.XX.37. The sukta सद्यो ह जातः is said to be Pancharcha (of five verses) in the next Khanda (U. VI.2); and it is of five verses in the Rigveda. Indeed Rigveda is the chief basis on which the superstructure of the whole subsequent Vedic literature is raised.

Curiously enough, there are very few statements in this Brahmana about Dakshinas to be given at sacrifices; probably they had become unimportant since the day of the older Brahmanas, as the sacrificial regime was probably over. Indeed in U.VI.14, to take Dakshina is considered to be

improper. Further there is no Aranayaka or Upanishad attached to the Gopatha Brahmana which makes it certain that it comes after the well-known Atharva-Upanishads.

The last chapter (VI) of the Uttaragopatha mentions many other names of suktas to be recited by the three priests Maitravaruna, Brahmanacchamsi and Acchavaki, the whole obviously being borrowed from the last chapter (XXX) of the Kaushitaki Brahmana, such as Avapana, Kadvanta, Pragatha, Jagata, Silpa, Nabhanedishta, Vrishakapi, Valakhilya, Sukiriti and Kuntapa (the derivation of which is given in addition, as burning Kuya or Kutsita; कृयं नाम कुत्सितं भवति तद्यत्तपति तस्मात्कुन्तापः). These Kuntapas are referred to as 'इदं जना उपश्रुवा, the first verse of the first sukta of fourteen verses'. The Kuntapa suktas are given in the twentieth chapter of the Atharvaveda from 127 to 136th and the first sukta is of 14 riks with इदं जना उपश्रुवा as the first. Subsequent three verses are also quoted. These suktas are from Rigveda probably. But they are not found in the Sakala recension. They are quoted in the Asvalayana Srauta Sutra as already explained and must have belonged to some other Sakha. A sukta called Aitasha-pralapa or the bragging of Aitasha is mentioned in U.VI 13 and the word Pravalhika is applied to it.

Finally, while Bloomfield considers Gopatha later than the Vaitana Sutra, Caland and Keith consider it earlier (Winternitz p. 190). The mention of Kalpa of all Vedas refers, we think, to Vaitana Sutra and this should settle the higher limit for this Brahmana at about 1500 BC.

Gotra-System

The *Apri-suktas* are the hymns for the propitiation or reconciliation of certain deities, demons and certain personified objects connected with the sacrifice. There are ten such hymns in the *RV Samhita* and they have quite a definite use at animal sacrifice. They all contain eleven or twelve verses and Agni is invoked in them under various names, that he

may bring the gods of the sacrifice. In the fourth or fifth verse the priests are invited to strew about the sacred grass, on which the gods are to sit down in order to receive the sacrificial gifts. Certain goddesses are regularly invoked in the hymns.

The *Apris*, again are the most important clues for the pre-*sutra* history of the *gotra* system because they supply us various differences in ritual and social practices. In these hymns there occurs in the second stanza an invocation either to Tanunapat or Narasamsa, or else to both in separate stanzas, clearly intended as alternatives to the *gotra* of the sacrificer. In the *sutras*, again, the prescription is laid down that certain *gotras* worship the one deity, and the rest the other. Unfortunately the various *sutras* do not entirely agree among themselves in the distribution of the *gotras* between Tanunapat and Narasamsa. Thus Baudhayana (BSS 10.11) which says “अथात् आप्रीणामेव मीमांसा। ऊर्ध्वा अस्य समिध्यो भवन्तीति द्वादश। तासां तानूनपातीमपोधृत्य नाराक्षंसी वसिष्ठानां दधात्यपोधृत्य नाराक्षंसी तानूपातीमन्येषां गोत्राणाम्॥” places only the Vasisthas. Apastamba (24.11.16) places only the Vaisistha and the Sunakas. Katyayana adds that some also give the Atris (19.6.8.9). In addition to these, Asvalayana gives also the Vadhryasvas (I.5.21). Sankhayana (I. 7.3), *Nidana* and *Anupada Sutras* and Kanva, Samkrtis and Vadhryasvas. In the Baudhayana *Pravaradhyaya* (54) the Vadhulas and the Yaskas are given along with others. *Narasamsa* worshippers steadily increased as the number of families increased *sutra* by *sutra*. According to Brough, however, there is no positive evidence at all to bear it out.

Schwab (*Altindisches Tieropfer*, p. 91), Hillebrandt (*Ved. mythologie* p. 102) and Keith held that in the end the tradition of the Jamadagni-family prevailed, and their invocation of Tanunapat was accepted by all the families, except that the Vasisthas remained faithful to Narasamsa. This is presumably derived from such passages as *Asvalayana Srauta Sutra* 3.2.6-8 where

RV.X.110 is prescribed for all families other than the Vasisthas and the Sunakas. It is necessary, to remark, however, that even when the Jamadagni-hymn was used by other families, those who normally invoked Narasamsa were expected to substitute a Narasamsa verse for the second verse of the hymn. Brough points out, therefore, that there is thus, not sufficient evidence for the conclusion that the invocation to Narasamsa did in fact tend to die out. "Rather, the variations between the *sutra* prescriptions would seem to point to differences, possibly local in the degree of stringency with which the customs were observed; and it is certainly possible that a reformist tendency was at work in the later days of the *sutra* period".

The situation of the Apri hymns in the RV.

We can thus see that for the history of the *gotras*, it is important to note that the *sutra* authors recognised the application of the various *Apri* hymns of the *RV*. by the *gotras* of their own time. Asvalayana, (3.2.6.8) for example, adds to the prescription given above, "*Yatharsi Va*", that is to say, "alternatively, the *Apri* hymn of one's own particular *Rsi* (-family is used", and the commentator Gargya Narayana quotes in illustration the first words of the ten *Apri* hymn from the *RV*. ascribing to each one of the *gotras*. Max Muller drew attention to the fact that there are in the *RV*. ten *Apri* hymns, attributed to authors of various families, and scattered more or less evenly in the ten books of the *RV*.

(1) I.13 Medhatithi Kanva	(कण्वानाम् आप्रीसूक्तम्")
(2) I.142 Dirghatamas Aucathya	(अङ्गिरसाम् ")
(3) I.188 Agastya	(अगस्त्यानाम् ")
(4) II.3 Grtsamata Saunahotra	(शुनकानाम् ")
(5) III.4 Visvamitra Gathina	(विश्वामित्रानाम् ")
(6) V.5 Vasusruta Atreya	(अत्रीणाम् ")
(7) VII.2 Vasistha Maitravaruni	(वसिष्ठानाम् ")
(8) IX.5 Asita (or Devala) Kasyapa	(कश्यपानाम् ")
(9) X.70 Sumitra Vadhryasva	(वाध्र्यश्वानाम् ")
(10) X.110 Rama Jamadagnya	(अन्यगोत्रीयानाम् ")

Of these hymns, the first two contain verses addressed both to Tanunapat and to Narasamsa. Those of Grtsamada, वसुश्रुत Atreyas Vasistha मैत्रावरुणि and सुमित्र Vadhryasva have Narasmsa only; and the other have Tanunapat only. This agrees with the *sutra* prescriptions very closely. whether the *rsis* mentioned were real authors or not, it is certain that the hymns in question were the special property of the families to which these seers belonged, i.e. the Kanvas, Gautamas, Agastyas, Sunakas, Visvamisras, Atreyas, Vasisthas, Kasyapas, Mitrayus and Jamadagnyas. Max Muller drew the conclusion that at the time of the final redaction of the *RV.*, these ten families considered it a matter of moment that their own *Apri* hymns should be included. It is possible, to go a step further and to see in the occurrence of the *Apri* hymns strong evidence for a theory "that the clandescent was continuous from Rgvedic times" and that the *gotra* of the Vasisthas, for example, as we know it from the *sutra*-accounts is the lineal descendant of the Vasisthas of the seventh book of the *RV.* If we take into account the status of *gotras* of the *sutras*-lists, it seems very much more likely that these books are to be considered the property of clans rather than of families in the narrower sense. In other words, we must understand the Vasisthas and the others to form the whole of the Rgvedic society—at least in so far as the Brahmanas are concerned—and not simply individual families. It would be quite in accord with the picture of society in the *RV.* if we assume that the hard and fast differentiation into *Varnas* had not yet set in its later mould, so that in the real sense Ksatriyas and commoners could be considered as members of the same clans as the Brahmanas.

The family-*Mandalas* II to VII with VIII (a slightly later addition), from the kernel of the *Rgveda* collection. It appears probable, therefore that the clans, to whom these *Mandalas* belonged, formed the main part of the society in which the collection was made. The second *Mandala* is the collection of the Grtsamadas, who correspond to the Sunakas of the

sutras lists, as may be seen from the recital by the latter of the name Grtsamada in their *Pravara*. The third book belongs to the Visvamitras, the fourth to the Vamadeva Gautamas, the fifth to the Atris, the sixth to the Bharadvajas, the seventh to the Vasisthas and the eighth to the Kanvas. Thus, in the earliest stage of the formation of the *RV*, we find represented seven of the eighteen exogamous clans of the *sutra* lists. This, coupled with the continuity of usage noted in the case of the *Apri* hymns, tells very strongly against the view that the later *gotras* were formed from ritual associations, which as Shri S.V. Karandikar believed, only came into being in post-Rgvedic times.

In the *sutras* we find that a distinction is made between Bhrgu and Angiras groups of *gotras*, and the remaining *gotras*. The arrangement of the early family-books in the *RV* also shows a rather striking symmetry. The Grtsamadas of *Mandala* II are the sole representatives of the Bhrgus; but Books IV, VI and VIII represent the three well-known subdivisions of the Angirasas, namely the Gautamas, Bharadvajas and the Kevala Angirasas represented by the Kanvas. On the other hand, Books III, V and VII belong to non-Bhrgu-Angiras *gotras*. Probably, therefore, this alternating arrangement of the *Mandalas* was intentional, and the distinction between Bhrgu-Angiras Brahmins and others was important from very early times. The distinction seems to have continued in force for a very long time, and there are numerous traces of it in later ritual literature.

Grama

‘Grama’ is a village, constituting a number of families (kula-s) became a larger unit in both the social political life of the land even from the Rgvedic period. The Aryans, so long leading a nomadic life gradually settled in particular territories and thus built so many ‘gramas’, comprising so many families with agriculture as their main occupation. Even while they

were moving from place to place, they had 'gramas', as reflected in the rc ("Yad-anga kva Bharatah samtareyu-r-gavyan-grama isita Indrajutah") which describes the Bharatas as consisting of grama-s seeking cows. Timmer explains 'grama' as 'horde', the armed force of the tribe which in war fought in the natural divisions of family and family (Alt. Leben pp. 159-60). That it was one a wandering body is proved by a traditional evidence of the SB (iv. 1.5.2.7) which speaks of Saryata Manava wandering with his village. Sayana explains the expression "gavyan-gramah" in the above rc as "gaudakani taritum icchan Bharatanam sanghah" i.e., the horde (seeking cows) of Bharatas. But soon after there settlement agriculture became the chief occupation of the Aryans, forests were cleared and number of villages increased. We come across the terms 'urvaka' and 'ksetra' in the sense of fertile land, tilled for agricultural purposes ("apanasvatisu urvarasu", also in iv. 41, 6 — "Toke hite tanaya urvarasu". V.33, 4—"gave chakartho" rvarasu yudhyan; iv. 25:4—"toke va gosu tanaya yadapsu vi Krandast urvavasus uravaite"; x. 142.3—"uta khilyah urvaranam bhavanti" and also Av., x, 6, 33; x, 10, 8; xiv, 2, 14). Fertile fields (apnasvati) and waste lands (artana) are referred to in the rc. Intensive cultivation by means of irrigation (khanitvima) is clearly mentioned in the rc. ("ya apo divya...khanitvaima uta va yah svayamjah) and in the AV. The rc. ("ksatram-iva vi manu-s-tejanena") refers to measurement of land indicating ownership of land, confirmed by Apata's prayer to Indra" (Imani trini vistapa...sarva ta ta romasa krdhi") by which she places the fertile land of her father on an equal footing with his head of hair as a personal possession. Pischel suggests the plough-land was bounded by grass field (khila), which was most probably the joint property of the villagers.

There is no trace in Vedic literature of ownership of land by the community of cultivation by the community. (cf. also Vedic Ind.) Rather individual tenure of land is indicated by the hymns of the Rv. — ("kestrasam dadathu-r-urvarasam dhanam" also by vi, 20, 1 — "tamnah sahasra-bharam-urvasam") in which

'kshetrasa and 'urvarasa' are used in the sense of one who had gifted fertile land ("sasyadhyanam bhuminam sanitaram sambhaktaram"—explained by Sayana). Elsewhere Indra is invoked as lord of fertile land in the rc. ("A yahima Indavo" svapate gopate Urvarapte/Somam somapate piva"). Sayana explains this rc as 'sarva-sasyadhyā bhūmi-r-urvara, tasyah pate he Indra'. The epithet 'urvarapati' of Indra is evidently a transfer of a human epithet, urvara-pati. Conquest of fields (ksetrani sam-ji) is often referred to in the Samhitas. In the Rgvedic period this individual tenure is to be taken in the sense that a family might have lived together with undivided shares in the land. The head of the family was rather the manager of the family and all the individual members enjoyed their produces jointly. Fields and houses are described as wealth in the Chand. Upa. ("ayatanani"). The SB, shows how Visvakarmā Bhāuvana was taken to task for offering land as fee to the priest Kasyapa and thereby implies that "land was no doubt even then a very special kind of property, not lightly to be given away or parted with". Some villages were close together, while others were far-off, joined by roads (Chand. Upa). The SB suggests material prosperity of villages by referring to robbers being attracted to their wealth. The villages were generally open, but sometimes forts (pur) were built inside them. Large villages (mahagrama) are also heard of as existing in the later Vedic period.

Zimmer maintains that the grama was a clan standing midway between the family and the tribe which according to him, was the Visah. But Hopkins (*Religions of India*), points out that 'Zimmer is inaccurate in identifying the tribe with Vis. It is the clan, a division below that of the tribe (Jana)'. Macdonell and Keith think that "the Grama may, however, perhaps be regarded more correctly as an aggregate of several families, not necessarily forming a clan, but only part of a clan (vis) as is often the case at the present day." A village might contain a whole clan but probably it contained at most a section of a clan. By family is meant a Hindu joint family but the extent

to which such families existed and the number of persons included can not even be conjunctured from the available evidence. (cf. Sahrader, Prehistoric Antiquities).

The term 'gramakama' occurs frequently in the later Samhitas. Hopkins thinks that 'grama' here means 'herd of cattle'. But in spite of the spirit of the SB noted above, opposing the offer by the king of any land to the priest, we may consider the offer by the king of any land to the priest, we may consider the view of the authors of the Vedic Index, that there prevailed "the practice of the king's granting of his favourites has royal pejorative under villages so far as fiscal matters were concerned. Later the idea developed that the king was owner of all land and parallel with that idea the view that the holders of such grants were landlords. But of either idea there is no vestige in Vedic literature beyond the word 'gramakama' which much more probably refers to the grant of regalia than to the grant of land, as Teutonic parallels' show. "But it is hard to accept their view that "such grants probably tended to depress the position of actual cultivators and to turn them into tenants."

Of course, they admit that they (such grants)" can hardly have had this effect to any appreciable extent in early times." We have already noticed that instead of the community as in earlier primitive societies, the individuals owned land, when the Aryans settled in a particular place and formed a grama, a permanent settlement. If so, some of them were actual cultivators and owners of land and others, mere tenants. The authors of the Vedic Index admit also that "the village no doubt, as later, included in its members various menials, besides the cultivating owners." However, the economic importance of village is proved by the wealth in the shape of cattle and grains which these possessed. The fact that in the evening the cattle regularly returned to the villages from the forests, as referred to in the Rv. "Gava iva gramam..." and MS., iv. 1, 1 proves the peaceful life of the villages, at least under normal conditions of life. We have already discussed that anti-

social elements like ogres, man-tingers, thieves, murders and robbers came from the forest areas to snatch off the wealth of the villages, as clearly stated in the SB. It is difficult to decide whether originally the village was established on the basis of kinship or that its leader was the head of the agnatic group.

The authors of the Vedic Index say that the village" can hardly be said to have been a political unit. The village, no doubt, as later, included in its members various menials, besides the cultivating owners and also the Brahmanas and Ksatriyas who might hold interest in it by royal grant or usage without actually cultivating land, such as chariot-markets, carpenters, smiths and others, but they did not presumably in any sense form part of the brotherhood. (cf. Baden Powell, *Indian Village Community*). But the importance of the village as a political institution, at least as an administrative unit can not be denied. The king's share in a village is clearly stated in the AV. and this fact is admitted by the learned scholars. If so, it proves the role of the village as an administrative unit and it belies the assumption of the ownership of the entire village by the villagers alone.

Besides, the careful measurement of the fields and of the boundaries of the village, as noted above, proves indirectly the working of the village as an administrative unit. The learned authors (Ibid., p. 247) admit that "at the head of the village was the Gramani or a leader of the village who is referred to in the Rgveda—"Sahasrada Gramani-r-agram-eti") and often in the later Samhita-s and the Brahmana-s. The term 'gramanithya' meaning 'the rank of gramani' is found frequently in the TS Kathsam. Vaj. Sam. TB; SB, and Bh.Upa. Zimmer regards the Gramani as having and had military functions only and he is often connected with the Senani, leader of the army. But the learned authors of the Vedic Index opine that, "there is no reason so as to restrict the sense: presumably the Gramani was the head of the village both for civil purposes and for military operations." Whatever be the functions, there

is little doubt that the Gramani exercised some executive powers as a representative of the king. In many places he is described in the Brahmanas as playing a prominent role in the coronation ritual, as one of the Ratnins, explained by Indian commentators as “gramanam neta” implying thereby that he was the elected head of the village. That he was ranked with the Suta (Charioteer) as one of the Ratnins, as elected in the SB given below shows that he was either elected by the people of the village or he acted as an officer of the king. The passages of the SB, referred to are quoted here from the translation of J. Eggeling’.

A Brahman then hands to him the sacrificial (wooden) sword,—either the Adhvaryu or he who is his (the king’s) domestic chaplain—with, “Indra’s thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!”—the sacrificial sword being a thunderbolt, that Brahmanya—by means of that thunderbolt, makes the king to be weaker than himself; for indeed the king who is weaker than a Brahmana, is stronger than his enemies, thus he thereby makes him stronger than his enemies.

The king then hands it to the king’s brother with “Indra’s thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!” Thereby the king makes his brother to be weaker than himself.

The king’s brother hands it either to the suta, or to the Governor with “Indra’s thunderbolt thou art; therewith serve me!” Thereby the king’s brother makes the Suta or the Governor to be weaker than himself.

The Suta or the Governor hands it to the Gramani (village headman), with “Indra’s thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me,” Thereby the Suta or the Governor, makes the headman to be weaker than himself.

The Gramani hands it to a tribesman (sajata) with ‘Indra’s thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!’ Thereby the headman makes the tribesman to be weaker than himself. And as to why they mutually hand it on in this way, they do so

lest there should be a confusion of classes and in order than (society) may be in the proper-order”.

The above passages prove the graded importance of the different ratnins, noted above, in the hierarchy of State officials and particularly the status of the Gramani in relation to Suta; and particularly the status of the Gramani in relation to Suta; and ultimately to the king and his superiority to the tribesman. Macdonell and Keith also observe: “The Gramani’s connection with the royal person seems to point to his having been a nominee of the king rather than a popularly elected officer. But the post may have been sometimes hereditary and sometimes nominated or elective, there is no decisive evidence available.” (Vedic Index). Elsewhere we find that “the headman, assuredly is one if his (the king’s jewels...and him he makes his faithful follower.)” The term ‘sajata’ (tribesman), to be discussed later on, would seem to be one of the peasant proprietors or sharers constituting the village ‘brotherhood’ ruled over by the headman and often actually belonging to the same family as the latter.

The use of the singular (gramani in the above-quoted passage of the SB) presents difficulties. Presumably there must have been many Gramani-s in a kingdom but the texts seem to contemplate only one as in the Royal entourage. The authors of the Vedic Index have rightly suggested that “possibly the Gramani of the village or city where the royal residence was situated was specially honoured and influential.” The honour shown to the particular headman as one of the retains in the coronation ritual bespeaks the same power and position of each headman in the sphere of administration of the kingdom.

Besides, the judicial function of the village headman in the later Vedic period is attested by the term ‘gramyavadin.’ The authors of the Vedic Index mean by this term ‘a village judge’ and point out that his sabha, ‘court’ is mentioned in the MS, ii, 2, 1, which functioned as the advisory council of the village headman. Another term ‘satapati’ occurs in a verse of the

MS and the TB as an epithet of India who is described as above the 'lord of a hundred gods, as does the commentary on the TB, is obviously impossible". Panini uses the term 'gramata' in the sense of a collection of villages and the term 'gramata' in the sense of a collection of villages and the term 'gramani' in connection with the puga corporation. The officer known as 'Lord of a hundred villages' is heard of in Manu, a later work but the most important of all smṛiti-s. It is interesting to note that Manu advises that the king should appoint over each village a lord, as well as lords of ten, twenty, a hundred and of a thousand villages; and that the village headman was known as a gramika or a gramani in his time. The Smṛti in general reflects the spirit of the Śruti and at least on this point we find that the Vedic concept of a 'satapati' (a lord of a hundred villages), as noted above seems to have continued even in the period, as evidenced by Manu and Kautilya. Hence the learned authors of the Vedic Index are justified to remark that the satapati was "probably at once a judicial deputy of the sovereign and a revenue-collector." The existence of this higher post also indicates the importance of the village as an administrative unit in the Vedic age.

The question may arise why the king was so much interested in villages. The number of villages was, as is still now, far greater than that of towns, specially in the Vedic as when the Aryans spread far and wide and settled in different places from the Punjab to the eastern regions in India after clearing out jungles and preparing fields for cultivation. Naturally the villages became the source of all resources of the land. Besides, the greater bulk of the population living in rural areas, their opinions regarding graver questions of administration of the kingdom, removal of wicked kings and safety from external dangers were no less valuable. The village lying far-off from the capital, it was more convenient for any rebel to hatch plots against the king and for any powerful headman to create difficulties in the way of administration. Hence it is quite natural as we have noticed in the SB, for the king to take so

much interest in the development of villages and to keep their heads in good humour by treating them on equal terms with other officers like the charioteer or even the general. That is why the headman was 'given the power of deciding local disputes.

Let us first examine the opinions of the learned authors of the Vedic Index: "Vis is an expansion of somewhat doubtful significance. In many passages of the RgVeda the sense of settlement or 'dwelling' is adequate and probable, since the root 'vis' means to 'enter' or 'settle'. In other passages, where the visah stand in relation to a prince, the term must mean 'subject', so, for example, when the people of Tranaskanda or of the Trtus (Rv. viii, 33, 6) are mentioned. Again, in some passages (manuso visah" in vi, 14, 2; viii, 23, 13; manusih in x, 80, 6) the general sense of people is adequate; as when the Rgveda speaks of 'the Aryan people' or 'the divine people or the Dasa people and so on ('adevih' in vii, 96, 15, 'asiknih' in vii, 5, 3 etc.)"

Zimmer's view that the Samiti was composed of all the people, primarily the Visah deserves consideration. On the basis of the rc. (Saijjanena sa visa sa jamana sa puturai-r-vajam bharate dhana nrbhih/devanam yah pitram-avivasati sraddhamana havisa Brahmanaspatim") he argues that "a people was divided into cantons (visah), cantons into joint families or clans, or village communities (Grama, Vrjana), and these again into single families." He thinks that the four divisions are reflected in the passage in question by Jana, Vis, Janman, and Putrah or sons, and argues that each village community was originally founded on relationship." But the authors of the Vedic India opine that "it is very doubtful whether this precise division of the people can be pressed". They, however, admit that "the division of the Jana into several vis may be regarded as probable, for it is supported by the evidence of another passage of the Rgveda which mentions the vis as a unit of the fighting men and thus shows that as in Homeric times and in ancient Germany, relationship was

deemed a good principle of military arrangement." The rc may be quoted here: "Eko vahunamasi manyavilito visam visam yudhaye sam sisadhi." This is a prayer to Mayu to sharpen the power of different units of fighting men, known as vis for success in a fight.

But the relation of the Visah to the grama or gotra was uncertain. Zimmer admits that "neither grama nor Vrjana has the special sense of a subdivision of the vis when used for war, both words only denote generally an armed host. He finds other designations of the village host in Vra. ("visyaiva vrah") and in Vraja' (:kulapa na vrajapatim charantam": and AV; vii, 72, 2)". But the term 'Vra' is of extremely doubtful import, (cf. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*,) and the term 'Vraja' has no reference to war. Hence it is very difficult to decide whether the vis as a subdivision of the Jana is to be considered as being a local subdivision (canton) or a blood kinship equivalent to a clan, while the relation between the vis and the grama or gotra is quite uncertain. The grouping of the visah along with the 'sabandhun' or relatives in the AV. and Rv.x.91.2 does not help us to draw any definite conclusion. If the Vis be regarded as a local division, then no doubt the grama must have been a part of a district; but if a Vis was a unit of relationship, then a grama may have contained families of different Visas or may have sometimes coincided with a vis or have contained only a part of vis. The authors of the *Vedic Index*, after discussing the term 'jana', concluded that "it may be that Vis sometimes represents in the older text what later was known as the Gotra." The 'Gotra' or clan included all those who claimed a common ancestor. The Gotra may be regarded as roughly corresponding to the Latin 'gens' and possibly the vis may be the equivalent of the curia and the Jana, of the tribes. Gotra, Vis and Jana may be corresponding to "the Vis, Zantu and Daqun of the Iranian world, where the use of vis suggests that in the Indian Vis a relationship based on blood rather than locality is meant—and perhaps even in the vicus, pagus and civitas of the old

German polity described in the Germania of Tacitus.

The rc mentions 'grhe grhe', 'janam-janam' and implies thereby their separate distinct character. Another rc ("Indra-Varuna yuvam-adhvaraya no vise janaya mahisarma yacchatam") refers to 'Adhvara', 'vis' and 'jana' with a prayer for 'sarma', explained by Sayana as 'house' or 'pleasure'. Macdonell and Keith think that "possibly, too, another passage contrasts the adhvara or family sacrifice with that of the Jana or Vis rather than, as Zimmer thinks, the village with two larger units." But they have pointed out that the king in the Vedic period maintained a fire, as "a sacred fire of the whole tribe" and that "there is no sure trace of any intermediate cult between that of the king and that of the individual householder". Elsewhere after discussing the term 'Vis' they think that "it is, at any rate, possible that the 'vis' may in some cases have been no more than a Gotra or clan or different clans may sometimes have made up a vis, while Grama is more definitely, perhaps, a local designation."

Let us scrutinise the term 'vispati' and its significance. This word is equally puzzling to us. Zimmer holds that in its strict sense it denotes the head of a canton but he admits that there is no passage requiring this sense, the only one quoted by him (Rv. 1.37.8) being certainly indecisive." Keith also opines that "the vis was not a normal unit for purposes of government, for the term 'vispati', lord of vis, has not in any passage the technical sense of 'lord of a canton'. But the word 'vispati' used in the rc suggests distinctly his authority of a king like that of Maruts, source of fear to the earth. Sayana has also explained it as "prajapalako raja", i.e., a king, protector of the people, when old gets afraid of his enemies. Hence vis of this rc may be taken as 'people' and Vispati as the king. The rc is also a clear proof of the fact that Vaspati has been used in the sense of a king, 'lord of the subject-people (visam). Sayana has also explained the expression in the same sense—"prajanamatisyena palayitaram". Vispati, as chief, of the Vis

(i.e., people) has been clearly referred to in TS which is cited and translated here: Iha manah ityaha praja evasmai samanasah karotyupa preta Marutah sadanava ena vispatina' phayamum rajaanam-ityaha Maruti vai vid-jyestho vispati-r-visai-vainam rastrena samardhayati," tr. 'mind here, he says, verily he makes the people of one mind with him. Come hither, O ye Maruts, with this lord of the people against you king, he says, the people are connected with the Maruts, the lord of the people is the highest, verily he unites him with the people and the realm." Elsewhere ("asyam visyasmin rastre mahate ksattraya...mahate janarajyaya"—tr. "in this folm this kingdom, for great lordship...for great rule over the people"...) the Bharatas are addressed and the term 'vis' means no doubt 'folk' or people.

The learned authors of the Vedic Index, however, suggest that Vispati in the rc (VII, 55, 5—"Sastu mata sastu pita sastu sva sastu vispatih") may be taken in the sense of the "Lord of dwelling", as in many other passages (also in the AV., iv, 5, 6). Here the mother and father of a maiden, the dog, the Vispati and all the relatives and the folk around (abhito janah) are to be lulled to sleep in order to allow her lover to approach her. Evidently in a joint family the Vispati might have been the head of the entire dwelling, quite different from the parents of the girl, e.g., a grandfather or elder uncle. The term 'jana' of this rc evidently means the folk or people around, over and above even the relatives of the girl. Thus from the above survey we fail to distinguish the vis from the Jana and to be definite about their relation in the political set-up of the land.

In the later Vedic period the sense of vis is definitely restricted in some senses, to denote the third of the classes of the Vedic polity, the people or clansmen as opposed to nobles (ksattra, ksattriya) and the prests (Brahman or Brahmana). But this suggestion of the learned scholars about the strife between the Visah and the nobles and the priests goes against their suggestion, made elsewhere that the Visah may mean the

peasantry on the basis of the later Vedic literature and that there was the strife between 'the peasantry and the nobles'. Dr. Saletore draws our attention to the passages of the SB which should be quoted here for further understanding: "And milk is the nobility and sura (liquor) the peasantry; the milk he purifies after purifying the nobility from out of the peasantry, for the nobility is produced from out of the peasantry." From this it is clear that nobility came out of the Visah. Again, in another passage we find that the nobility is produced from out of the priesthood.

Thus, these two studied together, give us to understand the position of the Visah as high as the nobility or the priesthood. The interlink between the ksattriyas and the Visah, instead of strife between the two, as suggested above, is proved by the following passage of SB—"verily the cups of sura—liquor are the peasantry (clan): thus were he (preist or Adhvaryu) to draw (the cups) without interlinking them, he would detact the peasantry from the nobility and the nobility and the nobility from the peasantry and would cause confusion between the higher and the lower, and a failure of the sacrifice. He draws them so as to be inter-linked, and thereby combines the peasantry with the nobility and the nobility with the peasantry, for the prevention of confusion between the higher and the lower and for the success of the sacrifice." Thus the later Vedic literature refers to the strife between the Visah and the nobility and also sometimes to their combination and coordination.

We may agree with Dr. Saletore who thinks that "the Visah was used in the Satapatha Brahmana in a general manner to represent not only the peasantry but all those who lived by trade as well". "The Visah representing the wealthier section of the people, it is quite natural, bred jealousy in the minds of the two higher classes, the priesthood (= the Brahmanas) and the nobility (= the Ksattriyas) and thus the Visah in the later Vedic society represented the third important section of

the Aryan community. Thus the word 'Visah' has been used in the Brahmanas in the sense of common people, as opposed of two sections, Brahmanas and Ksatriyas.

Let us examine the Brahmanas how they indicate the relation between the nobility and these common people, i.e., the ruler and the ruled. The division of these two is heard of in the Brahmanas as believed to have existed also among the gods. The SB states that "Indra is the nobility, the Maruts are the people." Indra is looked upon as the representative of the nobility. Elsewhere the SB expresses the political truth that the Ksatriya or the king becomes strong through the people. The people looked upon the ruler as the feeder and themselves as food, because they had to pay taxes to the king. Sometimes the king proved himself to be an oppressor as indicated in the text of the S" "Vid vai yavo rastram harino visam-eva rastrayadyam karoti tasmāt rāstri visam-atti;" tr. "the wielder of royal power feeds on the people. State is the eater and the people are the barley.", In the SB (XII, 7, 3, 12) we find that the priest makes the people, subservient to the nobility. (Visam tat ksattrasyānuvartamanam karoti).

Notwithstanding such causes of malevolent kings, the Brahmanas refer also to cases where the relation was cordial between the ruler and the ruled. The people paid taxes to the king willingly as a mark of honour in return of protection offered by him. The SB states that "whatever belongs to the people, the chieftain has a share." The relation between them was more cordial in times of distress or national calamity. The barriers of class or caste distinctions were relaxed in hours of dangers or difficulties, as evidenced by the SB—"A chief or a noble may eat from the same vessel with the people for the sake of victory". This was done evidently because the king knew fully well that he would come down to the level of the common people, if he requires that wholehearted sympathy to avert the national crisis. The TB testifies to the opposite picture that "the people are the deer and the State

is barley.” It implies that the common people rendered immense services to the State both in times of peace and war so much so that the people enjoyed the blessings of the State and fed upon it. The king did definitely provide for the economic well-being of the common people. Thus we have little doubt that in the later Vedic literature the term ‘visah’ was used to convey the idea of common people.

Grammar

Vedic grammar has never till now been treated separately and as a whole. Both in India and in the West the subject has hitherto been handled only in connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Hundreds of Panini’s Sūtras deal with the language of the Vedas; but the account they give of it is anything but comprehensive. In the West, Benfey was the first, more than half a century ago (1852), to combine a description of the linguistic peculiarities of the Vedas with an account of the traditional matter of Panini; but as Vedic studies were at that time still in their infancy, only the Samaveda and about one fourth of the Rgveda having as yet been published, the Vedic material utilised in his large grammar was necessarily very limited in extent. In Whitney’s work the language of the Vedas, which is much more fully represented, is treated in its historical connection with Classical Sanskrit. Partly for this reason, his work does not supply a definite account of the grammar of the Samhitas as compared with that of the later phases of the language; thus what is peculiar to the Brahmanas or to a particular Samhita is often not apparent. Professor Wachernagel’s grammar, which when finished will present the ancient language of India more completely than any other work on the subject, deals with the combined Vedic and post-Vedic material from the point of view of Comparative Philology. Different sections or individual points of Vedic grammar have been the subject of separately published treatises or of special articles scattered in various Oriental and philological journals or other works of a miscellaneous

character. It is advisable that all this as well as additional material should not be brought together so as to afford a general survey of the subject.

In view of the prominent position occupied by the Indo-Aryan branch in Comparative Philology and of the fact that the language of the Vedas represents the foundation of the subsequent strata, it seems important for the sake of clearness and definiteness that the earliest phrase should be treated as a whole independently of later developments. The present work will therefore deal with the grammar of only the Mantra portions of the Samhitas; that is to say, it will embrace the whole of the Rgveda, the Atharvaveda, the Samaveda and the Vajasaneyi Samhita, but will exclude those portions of the Taittiriya Samhita. The Maitrayani Samhita and the Kathaka which have the character of Brahmanas. Reference will also be made to Mantra material not found in the canonical texts of the Samhitas, that is, to the Khilas of the Rgveda and the occasional mantras of this type occurring in the Brahmanas and Sutas. As the linguistic material of the Rgveda is more ancient, extensive and authentic than that of the other Samhitas, all of which borrow largely from that text, it is taken as the basis of the present work. Hence all forms stated without comment belong to the Rgveda, though they may occur in other Samhitas as well. From the other Vedas, such matter only is added as occurs in their independent parts or, if borrowed from the Rgveda, appears in an altered form, the source being in such cases indicated by an abbreviation in parentheses (as VS., TS., AV.). The addition of the abbreviation 'RV.' means that the form in question occurs in the Rgveda only.

Verbal Authenticity of the Texts: In dealing with the linguistic part of the Samhitas the question of the authenticity of the forms is of great importance. What guarantees then do we possess that the original form of the texts handed down by tradition has not in the course of ages undergone modification

and modernisation in respect to vocabulary, phonetics and grammatical forms? This question must first be applied to the Rgveda, the oldest of the Samhitas, with forms the very foundation of Vedic tradition. The evidence of the Sarvanukramani, which states the number of stanzas, the metre, and the deity for every hymn of the RV., shows that in general extent, form, and matter, this Samhitas was in the Sutra period the same as now. The Pratisakhya demonstrates that its phonetic character was also the same. Yaska's commentary proves that as regards the limited number of stanzas explained by him, his text was verbally identical with ours. The frequent statements of the Brahmanas concerning the number of verses contained in a hymn or liturgical group agree with the extent text of the Rgveda. The explanatory discussions of the Brahmanas further indicate that the text of the Rgveda must have been regarded as immutably fixed by that time. Thus the Satapatha Brahmana, while speaking of the possibility of varying some of the formulas of the Yajurveda, rejects as impossible the notion of changing the text of a certain verse of the Rgveda as proposed by some teachers.

Probably soon after the completion of the actual Brahmanas the hymns of the Rgveda were fixed in the phonetic form of the Samhita text, and after so long interval, in order to guard that text from the possibility of any change or loss, the Pada text was constituted by Sakalya, whom the Aranyakas or appendices to the Brahmanas, the Nirukta, and the Rgveda Pratisakhya presuppose. By this analysis of the Samhita text, its every word, stated in a separate form as unaffected by the rules of euphonic combination, has come down to us without change for about 2,500 years.

The Samhita text itself, however, only represented the close of a long period in which the hymns, as originally composed by the seers, were handed down by oral tradition. For the condition of the text even in this earlier period we possess a large body of evidence corresponding to that of Mss. For

other literary monuments. It was then that the text of the other Vedas, each of which borrowed extensively from the Rgveda, was constituted. With each of them came into being a new and separate tradition in which the borrowed matter furnishes a body of various readings for the Rgveda. The comparison of these variants, about 1200 in number, has shown that the text of the Rgveda already existed, with comparatively few exceptions, in its present form when the text of the other Vedas was established. The number of instances is infinitely small in which the Rgveda exhibits corruptions not appearing in the others. We have thus good reason for believing that the fixity of the text and the verbal integrity of the Rgveda go several centuries further back than the date at which the Samhita text came into existence. As handed down exclusively by oral tradition, the text could hardly have been preserved in perfectly authentic form from the time of the composers themselves; and research has shown that there are some undeniable corruptions in detail attributable to this earliest period. But apart from these, the Samhita text, when the original metre has been restored by the removal of phonetic combinations which did not prevail in the time of the poets themselves, nearly always contains the very words, as represented by the Pada text, actually used by the seers. The modernisation of the ancient text appearing in the Samhita form is only partial and is inconsistently applied. It has preserved the smallest minutiae of detail most liable to corruption and the slightest differences in the matter of accent and alternative forms which might have been removed with the greatest ease. We are thus justified in assuming that the accents and grammatical forms of the Rgveda, when divested of the euphonic rules applied in the Samhita text, have come down to us, in the vast majority of cases, as they were uttered by the poets themselves.

Though the tradition of nearly all the later Samhitas has in a general way been guarded by Anukramamanis, Pratisakhya, and pada texts, its value is clearly inferior to that of the Rgveda.

This is only natural in the case of collections in which the matter was largely borrowed and arbitrarily cut up into groups of verses or into single verses solely with a view to meet new liturgical wants. Representing a later linguistic stage, these collections start from a modernised text in the material borrowed from the Rgveda, as is unmistakable when that material is compared with the original passages. The text of the Samaveda is almost entirely secondary, containing only seventy-five stanzas not derived from the Rgveda. Its variants are due in part to inferiority of tradition and in part to arbitrary alternations made for the purpose of adapting verses removed from their context to new ritual uses. An indication that the tradition of the Yajur and Atharva Vedas is less trustworthy than that of the Rgveda is the great metrical irregularity which is characteristic of those texts. Of all these the Vajasaneyi Samhita is the best preserved, being not only guarded by an Anukramani, a Pratisakhya, and a Pada text, but partially incorporated in the Satapatha Brahmana, where the first 18 books are quoted word for word besides being commented on. The Taittiriya Samhita has also been carefully handed down, being protected by an Anukramani, a Pratisakhya, and a good Pada text. The Maitrayani Samhita is not so well authenticated, having no Pratisakhya and only an inferior Pada text, of which but a single somewhat incorrect Ms. is known. Least trustworthy of all is the tradition of the Kathaka which lacks both a Pratisakhya and a Pada text. Moreover only one complete Ms. of this Samhita is known. However, the texts of the Black Yajurveda often agree even verbally, and the Maitrayani Samhita is closely connected with the Kathaka, the readings of the latter can to some extent be checked by those of the cognate Samhitas.

The inferiority of tradition in the Atharvaveda was increased by the lateness of its recognition as a canonical text. It contains many corrupt and uncertain forms, especially in Book xix, which is a later addition. The text is guarded by Anukramanis, a Pratisakhya, and a Padapatha. The latter,

however, contains serious errors both in regard to accentuation and the division of compound verbal forms, as well as in other respects. The Padapatha of Book xix, which is different in original from that of the earlier books, is full of grave blunders. The critical and exegetical notes contained in Whitney's Translation of the Atharvaveda accordingly furnish important aid in estimating the value of the readings in the Saunakiya recension of the Atharvaveda. The Paippalanda recension is known in only a single corrupt Ms, which has been reproduced in facsimile by Professor Garbe and Bloomfield. About one-eighth or one-ninth of this recension is original, being found neither in the Saunakiya text of the Atharvaveda nor in any other known collection of Mantras. The various readings of the recension, in the material common to both recensions, are given in the critical notes of Whitney's Translation. The variations range from slight differences to complete change of sense, and exact textual agreement between parallel stanzas is comparatively rare.

H

Harmya-/Harmia

The semantics of the noun *harmya-/harmia-n.*, as it can be traced from the contexts of the hymns of the RV, suggests the idea that the hierarchy of meanings of this word given by the Sanskrit dictionaries, as well as the interpretation of the corresponding passage of this text require reconsideration.

Most reliable is as usual, the St. Peterburg Dictionary which gives the following meanings: “ein festes Gebaude: Burg, Scholss, Palast, Herrenhaus, Wohnhaus, Vorrathshaus; Gefangni”. First the general meaning is given (the invariant, in terms of modern linguistics), and then its different representations in the text (i.e., variants). The rest of the dictionaries arrange the meanings of this word in a different way. H. Grassmann: “(1) Haus, Wohnstatte; (2) Hausgenossenschaft, Familie; (3) Kerker” and (the adjective meaning being also admitted). M. Monier-Williams: “n., a large house, palace, mansion, any house or large building or residence of a wealthy person, RVd & C. & C.; a stronghold, prison, RVV, 32, 5; VIII, 5, 23; a fiery pit, place of torment, region of darkness, the nether world; m.f.n. living in houses”. In the “Vedic Index” a following description of *harmyha*s given: “*Harmya* denotes the Vedic ‘house’ as a unity including

the stability (RV VII, 56, 16. Cf. X, 106, 4) and so forth, and surrounded by a fence or wall of some sort (RV VII, 55.6; Geldner. *Vedisches Studien* 2, 278, n. 2, takes *harmyesthah* standing on a house'/RV VII, 16/to refer to princes on the roof of a place." Comparing these definitions, one can say that they are based on three different distinctive features: a *firm* construction, applied mainly to a house, a *large* one (the latter one resulting in a meaning like "place", "mansion" and so on), and a kind of dwelling *surrounded by a fence*.

As it is known from the modern archaeology, palaces and mansions did not exist in the times of the RV, because the Aryan tribes of that epoch were not leading a lasting sedate life, but were mostly moving from one place to another (in contrast with the more ancient civilisation of the Indus valley). This extralinguistic consideration makes also necessary a new investigation of the meaning of the word *harmya-* in the most ancient text of the Indo-Aryan culture.

Harmya- is met in the RV 11 times as an independent word, and twice as the first member of a compound. Its distribution in the mandalas is as following: I 121, 1; 166, 4; V, 32, 5; VII, 55, 55, 6; 56, 16; 76; 2; VIII, 5. 23. IX; 71; 3; X, 46, 3; 73, 10; 106, 5; 114, 10. So, it occurs both in the ancient part of the text, the "family-mandalas" (though it is absent in mandalas II, III, IV and VI), and in the later ones. Generally speaking, it is not a very frequent word.

It can belong both to the sphere of gods and of their worshippers, and that does not influence its meaning. In other words, *harmya* does not belong to the group of words connected with the circular exchange between the deity and its devotees, which changes the logical accent on their lexical meaning (the so-called conversives, e.g.: *yajniya-* "worthy of adoration" about — is not stylistically conditioned.

Semantic analysis of the passages containing the word *harmya-* gives grounds to classify them into two main types.

The done which is prevailing is based on the invariant meaning: “a firm structure”, “a firm enclosure”, having sometimes a connotation of an obstacle surrounding the mythological subject who is supposed to overcome it. In the vague context of the hymns this invariant meaning is not always on the surface, but it can usually be revealed, if one refers to a wider fragment of the mythological system. The second type represented by a few examples can be defined rather negatively as having no explicitly or implicitly expressed invariant meaning characteristic of the first type. The meaning that is usually attributed to it—“(dwelling of) a noble family”, requires re-examination. Further, the whole list of the corresponding passages arranged according to the suggested classification will be analysed.

V, 32, 5 (Indra-hymn):

*tyam cid asya kratubhir nisattam
amarmano vidad id asya marma/
yad im suksatra prabharta madasya
yad im suksatra pramasi harmye dhah//*

‘(He killed) even that one who lay down according to his will. He did find the vulnerable spot of him, having no vulnerable spots, when you, O good ruler, after the intoxicating drink was offered (to you), placed him who was anxious to fight into the darkness, into a firm house”.

Here *harmya-* is used as a symbol of grave or death.

VII, 76, 2c-d (Usas-hymn):

*adhud u ket ur usasah purastat/
praticy agad adhi harmyebhyah//*

Henotheism of Doctrine

Entitling AV. 4, 11 “praise of the draught-ox” Whitney remarked that this hymn “offers an example of that characteristic Hindu extollation, without any measure or limit,

of the immediate object of reverence, which, when applied to a divinity, has led to the setting up of the baseless doctrine of 'henotheism'. He seems, however, to have overlooked the important fact that it is not exactly a feeling of respect, affection and admiration which prompts the author to extol the draught-ox, but the animal's indispensable function in a rite of paramount practical importance. Kesava, in his comment on the *Kausikasutra* 64-66 indeed informs us that with this sukta one performs, in those circles which adopt 'Atharvanic' ritual, the draught-ox sava such like all other Atharvanic savas is not only to result in earthly welfare, but first and foremost to effect the performer's survival in heavenly regions.

For a right understanding of the sukta, it is necessary to observe that in the *Culiku Upanisad* 11 where it is designated as *anadvan* "the draught-ox", this animal is put on a par, or rather identified, with the Highest Being. Among the innumerable souls, this 'Atharvanic' text teaches, there is one God, whom the Atharvavedic proclaims as, *inter alia*, the *brahmacarin* (AV. 11, 5), as the *skambha* -or frame of creation (AV. 10,7 and 8), as the sun (AV, 13, 1; 2; 3), as the remnant of the sacrificial food (AV. 11,7), as time (AV. 19.53; 54); as the purusa or primeval Man (AV. 19, 6), as the Isvara (the Lord; 19, 6, 4), as Prajapati (AV. 2, 1; 4, 2), as Viraj, the hypostatization of the conception of the universe as a whole and a female principal of creation (AV. 8,9 and 10), and as the draught-ox. There can be no doubt that this text intends to identify the many and various important ideas representing the last and most general principles which had by a variety of sages and philosophers been assumed to be the foundation of all phenomenal existence.

These conceptions were however at the same time supposed to be of the utmost importance for those who aspire to the Highest Good. They are means of realising the ambitions of those men who by influencing them by the proper ritual technics

or by identifying themselves with them by means of the right 'mystic' and ritual knowledge aspired to heavenly or divine existence. The man who proclaims this God, who is brahman and who *inter alia* is also the draught-ox, and who recognises him as the Highest, will eventually be absorbed in Him (Culika Upan. 20 f.). Hence AV. 4, 11, 7 which Whitney considered to be 'the obscurest verse of this obscure hymn': "(The draught-ox) is Indra by form (remember Indra's bull-like nature; compare RV. 6, 47, 18 and see also AV. 4, 11, 2)....., Prajapati, Paramesthin, Viraj....." Hence also the statement (st. 9) that the man who knows—i.e. who mentally identifies himself with—the milkings of the draught-ox obtains progeny and a (celestial) world. That is to say both forms of continuance of life.

This animal indeed yields milk (st. 4) — that is "highly desired objects as the inexhaustible results of a religious life" (commentary—in the world acquired by ritual and religious merit (*sukrtasya loke*). As is well known an androgynous character is attributed, not only to deities presiding over vegetation etc., but also to Primeval and Highest Beings. It is the draught of life, Soma, itself—the "one who clarifies itself"—which "has filled the ox up formerly" and the fructifying gods Parjanya and the maruts who help to accomplish the process of 'milking'. The sacrifice, that is the soma, is the milk; the author no doubt intends to say that the ritual act is a source of invigorating food and an abiding treasure (cf. e.g. RV.4,2, 5), and it is the daksina which brings about the milking. Thus, according to stanza 4 the draught-ox duly offered in a soma-rite will with the co-operation of traditional divine powers guarantee the sacrificer's 'divinisation', just as he has also enabled the gods to leave their earthly bodies and to go heaven (st. 6). Like the gods, man hopes to reach the 'navel of immortality', that is, according to the somewhat anachronistic explicating of the commentary, "the gate of final emancipation", and in any case of place "which is kissed by heaven and earth" meeting each

other there (RV. 1, 185, 9), the omphalos indeed representing the point where the great axis of the universe reaches the earth which it connects with heaven. Thus the ox yields the fruits of the sacrifice (the milk); the 'milkings' which take place at evening, in the morning and about midday "combine" to exert their beneficial influence conjointly (st. 12).

Twelve being the number of the days during which a Prajapativrata is to be performed and of the days of the diksa, i.e., of the preparation for ritual rebirth (cf. e.g. also TS. 5,6,7,1), and the draught-ox being Prajapati (st. 7), the religious observance (cf. st. 2 and 6) required for a successful performance of the rite must continue for twelve days, on the understanding that the sacrificer knows that "there is brahman within", i.e., that he is aware of the fundamental transcendent power inherent in the rite. Brahman is one in nature with Prajapati and manifests itself as the ox (see above and compare the commentary). This seems to be the meanings of st. 11.

The function and importance of this sacrificial animal are also elucidated in st. 1, which is clearly reminiscent of the well-known verse RV. 10, 121, 1c where the unknown Supreme God is said to sustain heaven and earth, a function attributed in the other circles (MS. 4, 14, 7:225, 3 f.) to the great god Indra, or to the extremely mighty brahmacarin (AV. 11, 5 1), to Hiranyagarbha, the original golden germ (VS. 13, 4 etc.), or to the creator-god Prajapati (SB. 7,4, 1, 19). The stanza is on the other hand nearly identical with AV. 10, 7, 35 attributing the same all-sustaining functions to the skambha or frame of creation which is a manifestation of brahman. From these correspondence the conclusion may be drawn that a functional identity was assumed to exist between the sacral draught-ox and the frame of creation. That is to say, that the rite in which the sukta was used was to transfigure, for the benefit of the sacrificer, the ox into a mighty being whose functions coincide with that of the frame of creation (or brahman). He has accordingly "entered all existence" (st. 1) and "penetrates

the threefold universe" (cf. st. 2). Having become commensurate with it, he creates what is and what will be. He moreover "practises all the rules of functional conduct of the gods" (st. 2), which seems to mean that he combines in himself and in so doing transcends the functions of the great divine powers which are active in the phenomenal universe.

The ox is finally called a "hot-drink" or gharma (st. 3), "a four-footed hot-drink" (st. 5). Here the text apparently refers to the hot milk boiled in a cauldron and offered in the pravargyan rite. According to Ait b. 1, 22, 14 f., this rite which is treated with a considerable amount of solemnity, was to give a new body to the sacrificer and to make him attain to a state of divinity. It may be noticed in passing that the cauldron, which probably is a ritual equivalent of the sun, is, like the draught-ox of AV. 4, 11, the object of the highest respect and is regarded as a deity of well-nigh paramount power. Thus the sacred animal is in all respects a master and neither to be ruled over (st. 5), nor to be treated with irreverence (cf. st. 3). Only if the literal interpretation of st. 10 proposed by Weber and Whitney is adopted, the conclusion is unavoidable that this stanza is "rather out of place here". However, the "decline" (*sedi-*) which is said to be trodden down by the ox, is—like the other manifestations of evil with which it is usually connected—according to VS. 20, 26 unknown in the holy world (heaven), and both animal and sacrificer (the "plough-man") should—stanza 10 continues—exert themselves in order to gain the "sweet drink" which may be supposed to be the draught of 'immortality'.

For an ample discussion of, and an elaborate commentary on, this sukta, the present author may refer to a publication by himself on the Atharvanic savas and the relative Vedic texts which is to appear before long.

There has been some controversial discussion about the Atharvavedic 'hymn' 11, 7 which—to borrow the title given to it by Whitney and Lanman—is "to extol the remnant of the

offering". Whilst observing that the *Atharvaveda* deals, inter alia, with subjects "provoking metaphysical disquisition so fleeting, disjointed, and unsteady, that it is a relief to reassure one's self... that... they have been pressed into the service of ordinary concerns" Bloomfield opined that within this sphere of (naive) conceptions arose also the famous hymn 11, 7, to the *uchista-*, the leavings of the *brahmaudana*, "with its momentary symbolic transfer of the highest divine or pantheistic attributes to an intrinsically most trivial ritualistic circumstance". "Univesal or special cosmogonic power is attributed... even down to the special features and implements of the sacrifice:... the hymn is nothing but a momentary symbolic transfer of the divine... attributes to a certain ritualistic feature made prominent for the time being". Referring for a more general and comprehensive criticism of the, in my opinion quite untenable, views of this meritorious scholar to a recent publication, I must especially object to the qualification "trivial", because the residue of an oblation was—as I hope to show further on—in the eyes of the ancient Indians a very potent and important substance and by no means the insignificant remains of food which are no longer of any use. After Hopkins has considered the text as "the paralysing extreme of ritualistic reverence", Victor Henry, a scholar, who in spite of his great achievements in Vedic philology, not rarely failed to penetrate the mysteries of the ritual, spoke very depreciatingly of it: « Ce fragment de *brahmana* versifié est une glorification, grotesque à force d'hyperbole,... des 'restes' de la nourriture consacrée soit aux dieux soit aux pretres officiants » However, the very fact that the compilers of the *Atharvaveda* considered this text worthy to be inserted in their collection should prevent us from qualifying it as bizarre or ridiculous.

Himalayan Birds

Like wild animals, bird life has been one of the most varied and rich in the world since Rgvedic period. Of the total

number of different kinds of birds known to man, nearly a tenth occurs in India. Among Indian avifauna, the Himalayan wild birds have got par excellence in their beauty and variety in the world. But unfortunately, in modern India, this most sensitive and vulnerable element of natural life—the Himalayan bird life is struggling hard for their survival. Some of them are on the verge of extinction and some have dwindled to precarious number. The depletion in the population of Himalayan avifauna is the result of ruthless hunting of birds, destruction of natural habitats, deforestation, and environmental changes arising from technological expansion in the fragile ecosystem of Himalayas.

This juncture, when the most beautiful Himalayan wild birds are facing survival problem, the new conservation ethic must be evolved in guiding man's relationship with the present Himalayan environment. Such a conservation ethic will have to be reiteration of the Vedic invocation to universal peace. So, it was felt both desirable and necessary to undertake the present study on some Himalayan birds and their conservation in Rgvedic India.

The environment and snowy ranges of the Himalaya have been referred to in the Rgveda (Rx. X 121, 4), though none of its highest peaks mentioned, for the simple reason that there were no means of advancing east-ward on account of the existence of the Eastern sea, and exploration of the gigantic mountain range was more difficult in the days by reason of a low temperature having prevailed in *Sapta-Sindhi* and the lower elevations having been covered with snow. The peak of the *Mujavat*, where the 'Soma' plant grew was familiar to the ancient Aryanas, as well as the valley of Kashmir and the surrounding ranges of the Himalaya. The mountains of '*Sapta-Sindhdu*' have been described in one beautiful verse which being translated into English, stands as follows:

“The mountains stand immovable for aeons after aeons, as if their desires have been satiated and fulfilled, and hence they

do not leave their places on any account, they are free from the decrepitude of old age, and are covered with green trees, looking green, and filling heaven and earth with the sweet melodies of birds." (RV. X. 94, 12).

In two other verses the immovable mountains have been invoked to be propitiatory (Rv. VII.35, 3 and 8).

Many names of the rivers are mentioned in Rgveda. Out of these seven were the main rivers. It is on account of its seven main rivers that the country had been called as *Sapta-Sindhu* (Avestic *Hapta Hendava*). A verse about rivers in Rgveda reads—'O! Ganga; O! Yamuna; O! Saraswati; O! Sutudri with the Parusni accept my loud. O! Marudvrdha with the Asikni and the Vitasta and O! Arjakiya with the Susoma listen. (Rv. X. 75, 5).

The climate and the season, as prevailed in ancient Rgvedic India, have also undergone complete change probably through a change of her physical environment. There is Rgvedic and Avestic evidences to prove that in ancient times a cold climate prevailed in the upland for a greater part of the year, which was highly conducive to the development of Himalaya bird life. The year has been called in the Rgveda by the name *Sarad* (autumn) (Rv. VII. 66, 16) or *Him* or *Hemanta* (winter) (Rv. I, 64, 14; Rv. II.1, 11; 33, 2; V.54; 15, VI.10,7;48,8), probably on account of the predominance of the characteristics of a particular season, during a greater part of the year in Himalayan areas. But the very use of the above words to denote a year clearly indicates the existence of either a cold or temperate climate in '*Sapta-Sindhu*' (Rgvedic India). The Avesta says that "*Sapta-Sindhu*" or *Hapta-Hindu* possessed a delightful cold climate in ancient time, which was changed into a hot climate by *Angra Mainyu*, the evil one.

According to Medlicott—"There are some curious indications of a low temperature having prevailed in the Indian area at ancient epoch."

The above fact was supported by H.F. Blandford. According to him—"In the early permian as in the post pliocene age, a cold climate prevailed down to low latitudes, and I am inclined to believe in, both the hemisphere simultaneously." The post-pliocene epoch being conterminous with pleistocene epoch, when man undoubtedly flourished on our globe, the designation of the year by the word "*Him*" or *Hemanta* (winter) in the Rgveda clearly points to the prevalence of low temperature in Rgvedic India.

We find evidences in the Rgveda of heavy showers of rain falling in *Sapta-Sindhu* during rainy season which lasted for three or four months covering the sky all the time with a thick pall of sombre clouds, behind which the sun and the dawn remained hidden.

The rivers were in high flood, and the spill-water covered an extensive area. All these characteristics of the rainy season have now disappeared from *Sapta-Sindhu* (Rgvedic India), where the rainfall is scanty and the climate dry.

It would thus appear there have been vast changes in the Himalayan uplands, water and climate of Ancient *Sapta-Sindhu* since the Rgvedic hymns were composed.

Some Better Known Himalayan Birds in Rgvedic India.

1. The Falcon: The falcon (*Falco peregrinator*) was known as "*Syena*" in Rgvedic India (Rv. VIII.80.8). The falcon commonly known as '*Sahen*' in hindi is a powerful, compact, broad-shouldered bird about the size of a jungle crow. Adults are slaty black above with a black head and prominent cheek strips and pinky white or rusty red below. The female known as '*Syanika*' in Rgvedic India is similar but larger than male. The extremely swift of the falcon has been referred to at several places in Rgveda (Rv. IV.26,27; 3 & 4; VII.56, 3, 64, 5; VIII.20. 10; 34, 9; 4; 89, 8; IX. 38, 4; 57, 3; 61, 21; 62, 4; 65, 19; 67, 14; 71, 6; 72,3; 77,5; X.92,6: 127,5). Its prey consists chiefly of pigeons, parakeets and similar

sized birds. During the breeding season pairs of this birds engaged in a great deal of spectacular aerial interplay, the birds darting and stooping at one another at breath-taking speed around the nesting cliff, often executing perfect looping—the loop turns.

In Rgvedic India, the 'Syena' was abundant and was referred to found singly or in pairs in mountain region in the haunt of his prey. The falcon were used for controlling the population of harmful small birds, so, the high number of falcons were known as the symbol prosperity during Rgvedic period.

2. The Eagle: The eagle was known as *Garud* and *Suparna* in Rgvedic India (Rv. X. 149, 3). The *Garud* is known as the carrier (vahan) of Lord Vishnu. There were many species of eagle dwelling in the Himalayan region of Rgvedic India. The important ones which were referred to in Rgveda may be—Creasted serpent eagle (*Spilornis cheela*); Mountain hawk eagle (*Spizaetus nipalensis*); Golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*) and Himalayan grey-headed fishing eagle (*Ichthyophega nana*).

The Himalayan eagle is a strong bird with long wide wings and short fans tails. The bird has a very strong curved bill and a flat crown. While flying eagles have their wings turned upward or downward.

There are some evidences that the eagle (*Suparna*) was the inhabitant of Himalayan hills (Atharvaved V. 4,2). In recent excavations at *Jatagram*, near the Asnoka's edicts of Kalsi, at the foot hills of the Himalayan range in Dehradun district, of the sacrificial altar of the Vedic period, in the shape of an eagle with outspread wings, is an important archaeological evidence in this connection.

The *Garud* (*Suparna*) had the special position in the life of Aryans. The ancient *Garud purana* signifies the special position of the bird. Even today, the *Garud* is worshipped by people of modern India. There is a place named *Paksitirtham*

in South India, where a legendary immortal pair comes at a regular hours every day to be fed by the priests. The people used to pay *darsan* of the very legendary *Garud* pair. Our neighbour countries have also realised the importance of an eagle (*Garud*). The Indonesia used to operate an airways named 'Garud Indonesian Air Ways'. The VIP plane which used to carry the president of Indonesia is named after 'Garud.'

3. The Peafowl: The peafowl *Pava cristatus* is mentioned *Mayur* and 'Sikhi' in the Rgveda (Rv. III, 45,1). This fine bird is the national bird of modern India and is found in many parts of the country, even upto 5,000 feet in the Himalayas. This bird has been the part of our culture through ages. No other bird symbolises so many qualities—grace, pride, beauty and intelligence. In the Rgveda, it is mentioned that there were 21 species of *Mayur*, some of them were confined only in the Himalayas (Rv. I, 191, 14). Some of the important kinds which were referred to in Rgveda may be—Himalayan pheasant or monal (*Lophophorus impejanus*); Koklass pheasant (*Pucrasia macrolopha*); Cheer pheasant or Chir (*Catreus wallichii*); Kalij pheasant (*Lophura leucomelana leucomelana*) and Red jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus*).

The peafowl (*Pava cristatus*) is about the size of a vulture and the gorgeous ocellated train of the adult cock is, in reality, not a train but abnormally lengthened upper tail coverts. The hen is smaller, has no train and is sober, mottled brown with some metallic green on the lower neck. She is crested like the cock. The dance of peacock is very popular to attract hens.

The common peafowl keeps in small flocks, generally composed of a cock and four or five hens, but it is sometimes found in groups of the same sex. The peafowl has a remarkably keen sight and hearing and is very wary. The peafowl is a friend of the animals which are hunted in the forest. When a peafowl sights danger it emits a series of calls which sound like a loud shrieking *mee-how* or *pee-haw*.

4. The Goose: The goose is mentioned as *Raj-Hamsa* (Bar headed (*Anser indicus*) and *Kadambhamsa* (Grey leg (*Anser-anser*) in Rgveda (rv. ii. 8.9; VIII.36 8 and IX.32,3). The *hamsa*—migration has been occasionally mentioned in Rgveda. There are sufficient evidences available in the classical Sanskrit literature, about migration of the bird, which is wrongly mentioned as 'swan' by many commentators—to lake *Manas* (Mansarovar) in the Himalayas. The poet Kalidas, a close observer of bird behaviour—described the migratory habits of both the species of geese, *Raj-hamsa* (Barheaded) and *Kadamba* (Grey lag) as accompanying the rain clouds on their way from the *Vindhya*s to the Himalayas.

The colouration of these birds are chiefly grey, brownship and white. The white head sides of neck, yellow bil, and two distinctive broad black bars across the nape are the points by which it can be identified. The greese are gregarious in nature and feeds on the shoots of aquatic green plants, grain and corns of marsh plants.

The goose (*hamsa*) has been associated with Indian culture since ages, as this bird is known as the carrier (*vahan*) of Goddess *Saraswati*.

5. The Quail: The Quail to *Bater* (*Coturnix coromandalica*) is a wild bird which is present throughout India upto 6,000 feet in the Himalayas. The quail is mentioned too in Rgveda as *Vartika* (Rv. i. 112, 8). The plumage of quail is buffy brown with pale streaks and irregular blackish blotches on the upper parts. The upper breast, and often the centre of the abdomen, is black in the cock. The hen hacks the black breast and the black-and-white markings on throat. The diet of the bird consists almost entirely of grain and grass and weed-seeds supplemented by termites and other soft insects.

6. The Partridge: Some Himalayan species of partridges have been referred to in Rgveda as *Kapinjala* (Rv. ii. 42 and 43).

The species may be—black partridge (*Francolinus francolinus*); Himalayan snow cock (*Tetraogallus himalayasis*); Snow partridge (*Lerva lerva*); Chukor partridge (*Alectoris gracea*) and Common hill partridge (*Arborophila torqueola*). The partridges (*Vartika*) have well developed bills and legs. Wings are rounded. The partridge are swift runners and flight usually of not more than a couple of hundred metres at a stretch. The food of the bird consists of grain, grass and weed seeds and tender shoots, but white ants and other insects are also relished. The call of the cock is cheerful and possesses a peculiar ventriloquistic quality. It has been rendered as *Suhhan-teri-qudrat*, *Lasn-piar adrak* and other variants according to the hearers mood and fancy of movement.

7. *The Owl*: The mention of owl (*Bubo bubo*) has been made in Rgveda as 'Ulka' whose screeches were regarded as inauspicious (Rv. X. 156, 5). The bird spends the day resting on some shady rocky projections in a ravine or river bank. *Uluka* has been mentioned to live in mountainous caves of Himalayas during day in Rgveda (Rv. X. 165, 6). The food of the bird consists mainly of small mammals, birds, lizards, other reptiles, large insects and occasionally even fishes. Another small sized owl is also mentioned in Rgveda, which may be the spotted owlet (*Anthene brama*).

8. *The Vulture*: The Vulture (*Gyps indicus* and *G. bengalensis*) is mentioned as *Grdhra* in Rgveda (Rv. X. 123, 8). *Grdhra* is heavy dirty blackish brown rather repulsive looking creature, with scrawny naked head and neck. The birds as scavengers are of the greatest usefulness of man. Their eye sight is remarkably keen and sense of smell poor or non-existent. The bird was regarded inauspicious in Rgvedic India, as it has been known as messenger of *Yam* (Death). (Oldenburg: Die Religion des Veda, p. 76).

Iksvakus

With the tribes above, reference must be made to the Iksvakus, though in the *Rgveda* they are mentioned only faintly (X. 60.4 “In whose (Indra’s) law is Iksvaku, the rich lord and the vanquisher of foes”). Even in the *Atharvaveda* Iksvaku is mentioned only once (XIV. 39. 9). The same hymn of the *Rgveda*, which mentions Iksvaku, refers to one Asamati, who is said to be the lord of Bhajeratha (X. 60.2 *asamatim... Bhajerathasya satpatim*). The name Bhajeratha might be compared with the Iksvaku king Bhagiratha, said to have been friendly with the Kuru-Pancalas *Jaiminiya Upanisad. Br.* IV. 6. 1. 2). In the Brahmanas regular names of the Iksvaku kings obtain, “Vrsa, the son of Jana, was the house-chaplain of Tryaruna, son of Triddhatu of the Iksvaku family” (*Pancavimsa Br.* XIII. 3. 12). He is the same as Tryaruna mentioned in the *Rgveda* (V. 27. 3 “Southwest, O Agni! to you offers a new prayer Trasadasyu Tryaruna”).

Trasadasyu was the son of Purukutsa, the king of the Purus, as recorded by the *Rgveda* which gives a sort of the family-line of the Purus (RV V. 33.8. “May these ten goldstudded white steeds of the benevolent Trasadasyu, the son of Purukutsa, of the family of Giriksit, carry me”); and that

Trasadasyu was the king of the Purus is clear from, "These wealths, which to the Purus did Trasadasyu give" (RV IV. 38.1). The lineage of the family is: Durgaha >giriksi >purukutsa >Trasadsyu. The Ikshvakus and the Puru kings were, thus, related. The Purus, along with the Bharatas, later got assimilated into the great Kuru-Pancala clan. The *satapatha Br. States* that Purukutsa was the king of the Ikshvaku family (XIII. 5.45 *tena ha purukutso Daughrahenā ije Aikshvako raja*). Originally settled on the bank of the Sarasvati, the Purus advanced further and settled in the Ayodhya region, getting assimilated in the Ikshvakus (for Durgaha, cf. RV VIII. 65. 12; also IV. 42.8).

Immortality

The doctrine of immortality is seen in a clearer light in the Satapatha Brahman than in the Rig-Veda Hymns. In the latter the requests for and allusions to immortality are few in number and rather indefinite in their character; they are almost all connected with the doctrine of the Pitris or Fathers, who must be distinguished from men, as they had a separate creation. These requests and allusions have reference to an immortality secured by the gods, more especially by and with Yama. He is represented as the first among men who died and became immortal. He is also (as in the story of Nachiketas) represented as Death itself. With him the spirits of the departed are said to dwell. Originally the gods were not regarded as immortal.

The All-gods, defeated by the Asura-Rakshas, obtained immortality in this wise:— "Once upon a time the gods, while performing sacrifice, were afraid of an attack on the part of the Asura-Rakshas. The Asura-Rakshas attacked them from the south and forced them out of the sadas, and overturned those hearths of theirs which are within the sadas... But ever since that time when the Asuras overturned them the fires do not burn. They forced the gods back to the Agnihotra fire

and even won from them one half of the Agnidhara. From their the All-gods gained immortality,—whence the Agnidhara fire is sacred to the all gods”.—Sat. P.Br. iii. 6. 1. 28.

One of the earliest references to a future life, found in the Brahmanas, is that in the Taittiriya Br. (iii. 10.11.1):— “Once man departing from this world knows himself that ‘This is I myself’. Another does not recognise his own world. Bewildered by Agni, and overcome by smoke, he does not recognise his own world. Now, he who knows this, Agni Savitra, when he departs from this world knows himself that “This is I myself. He recognises his own world. This Savitra carries him to the heavenly world.” A few lines further on it is said that “The days and nights suck up in the next world the treasure of the man who does not possess a particular sort of knowledge, whilst he who knows Agni Savitra finds his treasure not sucked up.

Indra

In the Samhita of the RV, Indra is the most important deity. He surpasses the greatness of the still ancient deity, Varuna, of Indo-European period. He is the chief of the fighting Aryan heroes. He is very happy in the company of the Soma drinkers. His greatest achievements in the killing of Vrtra. He is not yet identified with the sun, as in the AV (Vrsasahi).

In the Brahmanas of the RV, Indra is on the same level with Agni, the chief deity of sacrifice. He is the world of the Devas, as Yama is the world of the Pitrs. A sacrificer arise from this world of the pitrs to the world of the Devas (KB 16.8). Indra forms the world of the devas. In the sacrificial system of the Brahmanas, the number of the deities is very often reduced to thirty-three. These deities depend on the offerings of Soma and victims. Indra is one of these deities who share the offerings along with Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, Prajapati and Agni (KB 12.6). Indra and Agni constitute all gods (KB 16.11).

In the Abhipalva rite of six days, there are six kinds of offerings. The rite represents year as a revolving wheel of the gods, which is immortality (*amrtava*). Mounting on this wheel the gods move round all worlds, including the world of Indra, which is unconquerable. Thus the immortal wheel of sacrifice leads one of the invincible world of Indra (KB 20.1). By means of the Visvajit sacrifice, Indra conquered all this universe. In fact, Visvajit is Indra only (KB 24.1). In the Agnihotra sacrifice, the whole offering of milk consisting of sixteen parts is Indra only (AB 5.26).

Indra is the son of Prajapati Prasaha is the name of his wife. the Devas desiring to secure some favour from Indra used to approach his wife, who would speak about the desire of the Devas to Indra at night. At a mid-day pressing of Soma in a sacrifice, the Devas said, "Here is the favourite wife of Indra, Prasaha by name. From her let us seek you desire." they requested her to speak about their desire to Indra. She said, "In the morning I shall tell you. "The Brahmana adds further, "Therefore a wife seeks from her husband in the night", (AB 3.22). The Devas went to her in the morning. She said, "what we desire of him, let him perform." Actually he performed what they desired. Then the Devas said. "Let her have a share also, since she has not yet obtained one." (AB 3.22).

The TB (2.2.10.1) mentions Indra as the son of Prajapati and also (2.2.8.1) points out that Sena was wife of Indra.

The Devas allowed a share in the offering to Prasha, the dear wife of Indra. She is the host and her father-in-law is Prajapati. Therefore he who desires that his arm should be victorious should stand beyond the battle lines, should cut a blade of grass at both ends and throw it towards the enemy saying, "Prasaha, Ka sees you." The army of enemy is split and dissolved. Then just as in this world a daughter-in-law keeps hiding in modesty before her father-in-law, so also the host keeps stinking away in confusion. Indra then said to the

Devas, “You may have a share here also. “The Devas replied. “Let viraj of thirty three syllables be the offering verse of Niskaivalyastra. The Devas are thirty-three and Viraj metre has thirty three syllables, thus their desire being granted Indra makes the Devas share the drink syllable by syllable in turn (AB 3.22).

Indra seem to be a romantic figure. The Brahmana theologians have depicted him as a sort of he-man, who is an attraction of many women, Aryan and non-Aryan. Apart from his regular wives such as Prasha and Sena, he had an affair with an Asura woman. She approached and charmed Indra making *muskas* (generative organ) at every joint. Indra, desirous of subduing her, made generative of gains (*sepa*) at every joint. Indra is thus styled as *parucchepa*, one having one sepa at every joint. With her he had a union. Once she was angry with him due to the instigation of the wily Asuras. He then was set free limb by limb from all evil when he recited some *res* part by part. Thus a sacrificer reciting the *res* part by part is freed from all evil joint by joint (KB 23.4).

Indra and Visnu fought with Asuras. Having been conquered by them, they said, “Let us make an agreement.” They agreed. Indra said. “So much as Visnu crosses three times, so much be ours. Let the rest be with you.” Visnu traversed the three worlds, the Vedas and speech. With the wile of the Devas, the Asuras lost all their possessions.

Inheritance of the Law

Daya is mentioned in the Rv. (dadatu viram satadayamukthyam), explained by Sayana as “possessed of plentiful heritage or wealth” (vahudhanam vahupradam va). The poet prays here to Raka to grant the boon of a valiant son, ‘satadayam’ whose significance has been discussed before. Elsewhere (‘sramasya dayam vibhajantyebhyah’) we find daya in the sense of ‘reward’ of exertion, as Sayana explains it as ‘ebhyah asvebhyah sramasya nasakam

ghasadikam vi bhajati Devah prayaochanti". Another word 'riktha' occurs in the sense of inheritance in the rc (na jamaye tanvo rikthamaraik") where a daughter having a brother is to said to be entitled to inherit the paternal property. The word 'daya' has been mentioned in the TS and the Brahmanas in the sense of 'paternal wealth' or wealth is general. The TS (Manuhputrebhyo dayam vyabhajat sa Nabhanedistham brahmacharyam vasantam nirabhajat) refers to the tale of Nabhanedistha who was deprived of his share of paternal property which was divided among his elder sons by Manu. Manu, however, taught Nabhanedistha how to appease the the Angirasas and procure the cows. This story shows that the property Manu divided was the moveable property and not land. The TS (tena Indram jyestham putram dhanena niravasayayanti) shows that people in this period distinguished the eldest son by wealth. Thus 'daya' in the Vedic period was used to denote 'dhana' or wealth inherited from the father. The AB also gives us the story of Nabhanedistha with slight modification. When the elder sons divided the paternal property among themselves. Nabhanedistha approached his father for his share, as directed by his elder brothers. The father was taken to be the fittest person to decide the cases of law (nisthava) and to determine the share of partition (avavadita), Partition of property among sons was made during the life time of the father and Nabhanedistha, though omitted at first was compensated by the advice of his father. Angirasas were pleased to give away their thousand cows to Nabhanedistha who had helped them with the recital of two hymns.

The Tandy Br. (Tamsad yah putranam dayam dhanatamamivopiti tam manyante yamevedam bhavisyatit") also states the importance of the eldest son in matter of inheritance: "Therefore whoever among sons secures the best or major portion of wealth as daya, him they regard as the son who would be the lord of all. The rc (na jamaye tanvo rikthamaraik chakara garbham janitu-r-nidhanam) has

been explained in the Nirukta as follows: “not to sisters should the begotten son give the riktha or inheritance; She is made the receptacle for the child of her husband; (“na jamaye bhaginyai, jamiḥ anye syam janayanti jam-apatyam); and thus we learn clearly than in the Rgvedic society a son (and not the daughter) inherited the property. The story in the Brhad. Upa. states that Yajnavalkya divided his property, obviously the moveable including livestock between his two wives and thus indicates that any retiring person could divide his property freely and not simply to sons just before retirement (“te’naya katyayanaya’ antam kaavaniti”).

The story of Abhyagni Aitasayana in the AB shows the right of the father to disinherit his sons. This man had a quarrel with his father Aitasa. The result was that he and his progeny were called the worst of the Aurvas. In the version of the KB the Aitasayana Ajaneyas take the place of the Abhyagnis and the Bhrgus of the Aurvas. To the Vedic Aryans all sons were of equal value and so the theory of preferential share to the eldest son was most probably of a later origin (and not prevalent at least in the Rgvedic period). Apastamba vehemently refutes the theory of the inheritance of only the eldest son. (Jyestho dayada ityeke, tat sastra-vipratisiddham. Manuḥ Putrebhyo dayam vyabhajaditya-visesena srūyate tathapi tasmāt jēsthyam dhanena nirvasayantetacchrūyante).

Another school of thought lays down a special share to be given to the eldest son, set apart after which the rest is to be equally divided. This is called partition with ‘uddhara’. This view was represented in Vedic tradition. This sort of inheritance owns its origin probably to the old practice prevailing even in the Vedic period of a man dividing his wealth before death, as indicated in the Vedic texts. Different customs might have cropped up, according to the discretion of the father, which in course of centuries, assumed the character of law. TS (jyestham putram dhanena

niravasayayanti) indicates that the eldest son was once separated by giving wealth. The story of Manu speaks of elimination of the youngest son Nabhanedistha. These evidences show that sons did not inherit paternal property always equally and sons, after marriage were most probably separated from the father and formed their own house-hold separately.

In early Roman law the inheritance goes first to Sui, i.e., sons under power, then to Emancipati (=sons emancipated) and next to agnates and again to the gens. In the Dharmasutras we find mention of remoter heirs by classes. Gautama mentions persons connected by pinda, gotra, and rsi and even the wife. Apas. Speaks of heirs of sonless person like sapindas, Acharya, pupils, daughter and next the king. The wife is given her ornaments and wealth which she may have received from her relations, Of course, we should remember here that we must not take all sapindas irrespective of degree of relationship as being heirs. Ihering warns us that we must not interpret the early statements of law (Reschtssatze) as the whole law. The early law should be taken with some qualifications which guided the practical applications, though they were not specifically mentioned, perhaps because they were so well-known in the then society.

It should be pointed out that inheritance is mixed up with the religious theories and practices. The Vedic Aryans believed that whenever they performed sacrifices, the ancestors also came to take nourishment from them. Hence religious practices, the family and the right of inheritance were mutually connected with one another. The theory of after-life, as pronounced in the Chandogya Upa. may be pointed out here: "The spirits go to the world of the fathers, next to the ether and thence to the moon. Having dwelt there till their good works are consumed, they return again that way as they came, till they attain some birth the nature of which depends on the nature of their works in the previous birth". Ancestor worship

continues as in ancient days and possession of a son gained so much importance not only for economic but also for spiritual benefit. The right of inheritance became closely associated, with one's right to offer pinda-s, i.e., offerings to the deceased and ancestors even from very early times. Sons and other descendants were one's kindred not only physically but also through the magic spiritual unity. Hence spiritual kinship, determined by the magic ritual of sraddha was gradually looked upon as the criterion for deciding the right of succession, as reflected in the Dharma literature.

The question of individual ownership has already been discussed. We have noticed that the use of *urvata* in the *rc* (iv. 41-6) in the same context as children (take *hite tanaye*) also indicates the individual ownership of land. The father as head of the family was proprietor of land; and it is hard to say if the sons had any share in the field during their father's life time. The story of Nabhanedistha shows the partition of the paternal property during the father's lifetime and special shares to the elder sons. Apata, as a daughter also enjoyed her father's field as her own possession, when she had to return to her father being rejected by her husband. The *rc* (vi tva narah purut a saparyan pitu-r-na jivre-vivedo bharanta) shows that sons received their shares of paternal property when the father became aged.

The *rcs* indicates some sort of testamentary disposition of property in connection with Nabhanedistha. From the explanation of the story of Nabhanedistha in the AB we learn that when he attempted to possess the property, given by the Angiras, he was opposed by some one who claimed the whole perhaps by the right of inheritance. However, the property was given over to Nabhanedistha. This story shows that the testamentary disposition of property was not recognised in the early Vedic period.

J

Jaminiya Brahmana

Of the *Jaimniya* or *Talvakara*-Brahmana of which the Kena Upanishad formed a part, prof. W.D. Whitney writes: "The Jaminiya is on the whole a dull and uninteresting work, is compared with the others of its class. A most unreasonable share of its immense mass is taken up with telling on what occasion some being 'saw' a particular *saman*, and 'praised with it', thereby attaining certain desired ends, which may be attained by others that will follow his example; and the *pseudo*-legends, thus reported or fabricated, average of a degree of flatness and artificiality quite below the ordinary. Of course, they are extensive passages of a different character; and also some of the stock legendary material of the Brahmana period appears here in a new setting, or a different version, or both. Decidedly the most interesting case of the latter kind, so far as I have observed, is the passage which, with a true insight, Burnell himself selected and published in 1878 as a specimen," under the heading "A Legend from the Talavakara or Jaiminiya Brahmana" at Mangalore in 1878 (pp. 40, 24 mo). It is also included in the Acts of the International Congress at Florence, vol. ii. pp. 97.111.

After reproducing the Jaiminiya version of the Chayavana

legend, which will be found below among our extracts concerning Indra, Prof. Whitney adds : "Whatever may be thought respecting the extract already published by Burnell, it will hardly be denied that this story wears a less original aspect than the corresponding one (or ones) in the other Brahmanas... The pervading accordance of the various Brahmanas in language, style and contents is the most striking fact about them. The evidently come in the main out of one period and their differences appear to be a minor consequence... In point of language the Jaiminiya standards full upon the general plane of the Brahmanas, offering no signs either of special antiquity or of more modern date."

The Keno Upanishad was for a long time regarded the only remnant of the 4th Brahmana extant. The fact that it was translated by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Somaj, adds to its interest. It is divided into two parts, the first of which treats of the existence of the Supreme Being, Brahma, giving as its authority "the earlier sages who have taught us this." The second part contains an account of a mediator between God and man, corresponding to the Roman Catholic idea of the Virgin Mary. She is Uma Haimavati; who is afterwards known as the wife of Siva. She is represented as "mediatrix between Brahma and the other gods, probably because she is imagined to be identical with Sarasvati, or Vach, the goddess of speech, of the creative work.

Jana

Jana, means and individual. It was also used in the Rgveda and in later literature in a collective sense, i.e., to denote a people or a tribe, as indicated in 'panchajanah' or 'janasah' (five tribes), frequently mentioned in the Rgveda. The 'jana' was the highest political and social unit among the Vedic Aryans. It was intimately connected with 'rajan'. The rc (yuyam rajana m-iryam janaya vibhatastam janayatha yajatrah") contains a prayer for providing the tribe with a

kind. The rc (“Asapatnah sapatnahabhi rastro visasahih/yathaham-esam bhutanam virajani janasya cha”) speaks of the success of a victorious king over enemies and his lordship over the Jana. Another rc (—“Samajalsamima aham sapatni-r-abhibhuvare’yathahamasya virasya virajani janasya cha//”) speaks of the conjugation of the queen ending with the following statement: “I have displaced rival wives, risen superior to them and thereby I rule over this man and the Jana.” Thus we learn to the closest relation between the king and the Jana. The Jana was therefore the highest political union among the Aryan conquerors and the term may be equated with the tribe. The king (rajan) is described as protector (gopa) of the people (janasya) in the rc. Soma is called ‘gopati janasya’, protector of the people’ in the rc. The authors of the Vedic Index disagree on the import of the Bharatas’ with Hopkins (Religions of India, pp. 26-27) who assumes that the Jana of the Bharatas meant a clan or horde (grama) as distinguished from the people. They admit that “the Bharatas are called ‘gavyan-grama’ (a horde eager for booty) in Rv., but ‘Grama’ has there merely a general application.

In the previous discussion of Visah we have noted how difficult it is to decide its import and its relation with Jana and Grama. The learned authors of the Vedic Index remark that “the subdivision of the Vis into several Gramas is very doubtful” and that “it is therefore impossible to state in what exact relation the Grama in Vedic times stood of the Vis or to the family (Kula or Gotra). They suggested that “the Gotra may be regarded as roughly corresponding to the Latin Gens and possibly the Vis may be equivalent of the Curia and the Jana, of the tribes. These three divisions may also be seen in the Vis, Zentu and Daqyu of the Iranian world where the use of Vis suggests that in the Indian Vis a relationship based on blood rather than locality is meant—and perhaps even in the Vicus, pagus and civitas of the old German polity described in the Germania (ch. vii) of Tacitus.” The rc “janam janam visam visam” and another rc have already been analysed. The learned

authors of the Vedic Index conclude that the real elements of the State are the Gotra and the Jana.... it may be that Vis sometimes represents in the older texts what later was known as the Gotra."

Roth interprets the term 'gotra' as "cowstail" which Geldner explains it as 'herd: The latter sense is best fitted to denote the family "or" clan in the later Vedic literature. According to Brahmanic theory, Gotras are derived from a common ancestor who is very often a Rsi and is either a Brahmana by origin or by adoption. Asval. SS. states that princes derived their gotra-s from their priests. Gotras are ascribed to brahmins only in the later Brahmanical texts. It is difficult to decide whether Gotra was originally a Brahmanical institution. We come across another term 'janata' in the later samhita-s. and in the Brahmanas (TB, i, 4, 6, I; ii, 3, 1, 3; AB, i., 7,9;iii,31, V, 9 etc.) which denoted the sense of "a community or a religious unit", according to Macdonell and Keith. But unfortunately these scholars throw little light on the exact nature of 'janata' in either of the two senses.

Dr. N.C. Bandyopadhyaya (D.H.P.P. Tjepoes) also admits that "in regard to the janas or tribes we are not in a position whether these were entirely homogeneous bodies, entirely based on descent from common ancestors enjoying perfected equality of rank, and following a common tribal religion or that the tribe had become a medley of different ranks and grades, prominent among whom were the ruler and his kinsmen, the priest and his relatives and the servile population." He inclines to the view that "the tribe was not, strictly speaking, confined to the descendants of a common ancestor, but constant additions and changes were being made by the principle of adoption on affiliation which was in vogue in Indra (as also in Rome and elsewhere). "We have such instances of option by the princes from the priestly sections and also by the Brahmins from the ruling families, as for example, Visvamitra adopted Sumahsepa, son of the Brahmana Ajigarta and Saunaka, an Angirasa, according to Sayana, became Grtsamada.

Jara

The word *jara* is derived from *jr* by adding *ghan* suffix in the sense of agent. It means 'becoming old' (*Rgveda* = *RV*, X.106.7), a consumer *Nirukta*, V.10; Panini, III.3.20, *varttikma* 4), a paramour or a lover. an identical root *jr* (= *gr*) stands for 'to call out to', 'address', 'invoke' and 'to praise'. This word occurs a number of times in the *RV* in the hymns addressed to Agni Asvins, Usas, Pusan, Mitra-varuna and Soma Pavamana. Agni and Pusan are directly described as *jara*. The former is spoken of as *jara* of (i) waters (I. 46.4), (ii) maidens (I.66.4), (iii) dawns (VII.9.1), (iv) his sister (X.3.3) who is obviously Usas, and finally of (v) the sacrifice (X. 7.5). Agni's association with the Water is prominent throughout the Vedas. Legend of Agni hiding in the waters and plants and being found out by the gods occurs in some of the later hymns of *RV* (X. 51-3, 124). More importantly than this is the conception of Waters as females (II.35.13). which is responsible for describing Agni as her paramour. His description as the lover of maidens (*jarah kaninam*) and the lord of married women (*patir janinam*) gave rise to a marital myth, which, according to Sayana, is contained in the *RV*, X.85.41. The preceding *mantra* (X.85.40) very clearly states the myth:

सोमः प्रथमो विविदे गन्धर्वो विविद उत्तरः ।
तृतीयो अग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यज ॥

Soma is the first, Gandharva the second and Agni is the third husband who, according to the next *mantra*, gives away the bride to the human husband. It is at this stage that a girl becomes wife. In this marital and free love. Gandharvas represent free love in the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature and the marriage through mutual love, known as *gandharva*, is sanctioned by the *Smrtis*. Acceptance of love-marriage by the family elders and the society is very succinctly stated by Kalidasa in his *Abhijnanasakuntala* (III.20). In many cases free love may not end up in marriage and this possibility is

recognised and accepted in the Rgvedic myth by formulating that before a girl is married to a human being she has had three divine husbands, namely, Soma, Gandharva and Agni. Descriptions of females being possessed by Gandharvas in the Upanisads may in certain cases suggests the effect of free love on them. Agni is produced and kindled for the sacrifice at every dawn and is, therefore, very naturally associated with the Usas. Both are described paradoxically as young and ancient. Usas causes sacrificial fire to be kindled (I. 113.9). Agni goes to meet the refulgent Usas as she appears in the sky, asking her for fair riches (III. 61.6). Being kindled at dawn the fire is described as "waking at dawn" (*usarbudha*). The brightness of both, Usas and Agni, is described in great detail. As young maiden dressed in gay attire, like a dancer, Usas displays her bosom (I. 82.4), shows her form (I.123.1) and unveils her charms (I. 124.3-4). This makes Usas a perfect model of young beauty whom an equally bright and young lover, Agni, perpetually seeks for making love. Usas is repeatedly called the daughter of heaven (I. 30.22). Agni is similarly described as the child of heaven (IV. 15.6; IV.49.2) who generated the fire (X. 45.3). This makes him the lover of his *svar* (X. 3.3), Usas, both being the progeny of the heaven. Usas is *svayamsarini*, who, like *abhisarika* of the classical Sanskrit literature, moves freely to meet her lover. In a similar description of Pusan as the lover of *svar* (VI. 55.4-5), the same meaning is intended to be conveyed by the seer. He is, like Agni the lover of the maidens, dawns (I.152.4), and is described as such by way of a simile (*Uso no jarah*) in the RV, I.69.1;5; and VII.10.1.

The popular notion of a *jara* (lover, paramour) and his beloved (*jarini*) can be gleaned from the Rgvedic references. The beloved was conceived as *kani* or unmarried young girl with resplendence (Sayana on I.66.4; 152.4) and the lover as daring the gallant, as is evidenced by the character of Rjasva (I.117.18) who cut in to pieces one and a hundred rams in order to please she-wolf. He inspired the imagination of his

beloved and enkindled her spirits (I.134.3) through his message. He was lauded, addressed (VI.55.4) and sung (Xi. 32.5; 56.3). He was the most sapient (*kavitama*, VII.9.1.) who gleamed with refulgence (VII.10.1). His beloved was not known, *i.e.*, expected, to forsake him (VII.76.3). Conquering all the obstacles he approached his love who was glad to accord him welcome (IX.56.3; 96.23; 101.14) in her home. His beloved was known as *svasr* (a sister, free in love) by perhaps an international play on the word because she moved freely to a rendezvous (X.3.3). The *jara* delighted his parents whom he inspired for creativity (X. 11.6). The lover who took away the maidenhood (I.66.4) was known doing his religious duty of feeding with oblations. He is associated with spread of light (I.69.1; 69.5) and advancement without a down fall (I.152.4). He woke up his sleeping beauty, and enkindled love in her (I. 134.3). Such was the Rgvedic notion of a lover and a beloved.

Jara is always explained as *upapati* (paramour) by Sayana. There is hardly any reference in the *RV* which might suggest that a lover was looked down upon or was considered morally wrong or corrupt. Sayana also does not consider loving sinful. Mythically speaking, Agni, Pusan and Vayu are the cosmic paramours. Waters and dawns are the cosmic beloveds. Various sex symbols pervade the hymns of the *RV*. Heaven and Earth are represented as cosmic sex partners. Agni is invoked to stir up these parents through sexual imagery (X. 11.6). Besides normal sex symbols, *RV* also presents seemingly abnormal sex relationship. For example, Agni (11.35.13) and Soma (X. 30.5) are represented as child-seeders (*sisu-vrsan*) who impregnate the waters described as sisters who invoke their brother-husbands (X. 65.1). Yama and Yami represent the same seemingly abnormal sex-relationship. The Rgvedic concept of *jara* also involves some kinds of abnormal sex symbolism. This explains the occurrence of the term *svasr* in the case of a beloved, Usas. The sense of illicit love implied by the term *svasr* (sister) gradually gives way to the sense of

abhisarika, beloved, going to meet her lover. In the post-Vedic tradition the normal cosmic partnership is conceived variously, such as, by the union of Siva and Sakti in Saivism or by the union of *Prajna* and *Upaya* in the Buddhism. Even the philosophical schools were led to explain the origin of the world in terms of real or imaginary interaction of two entities, such as Purusa and Prakriti in the Samkhya or Brahman and inexplicable Maya in the Vadanta system.

However, the relationship of free love epitomised in the *RV* by the *jara* and his beloved finds its similarity in the concept of Krsna and Radha. Their playful love-making aesthetically leads to the delineation of *madhura rasa*. Krsna, for the *Gopis*, is the supreme lover, a *jara* (*Bhagavata*, X.1.11-12). His love for the maidens in general and for Radha in particular is devoutly praised in the esoteric Vaisnavism. Radha reminds us of Usas and her lover resembles the descriptions of fire, sun and the wind. All esoteric schools, Siva, Bauddha or Vaisnava, abound in clear sex symbols. Sex images seem to be indispensable to communicate the relationship of the Supreme Being with the world of men. The relation of lover and the beloved between the Supreme Soul and the individual soul is often described by the mystics of all shades. In the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad* (IV. 3.21), union with the self is compared with the loving and deep embrace of a beloved. Close affinity and intimate association between the emotions of love and religion is widely recognised. Havelock Ellis observes, "early religious rites were largely sexual and orgiastic because they are largely an appeal to the generative forces of nature to exhibit a beneficial productiveness."

"There exists a close connection between mystic ideas and erotic ideas, and most often these two orders of conception are associated in instantity," says Regis. Indian tradition did not find anything immoral, insane or absurd about this empirical relation of a lover and beloved being extended to the mystical realm.

Mystics, like Mira, who conceived herself as the bride of Lord Krsna, Soeur Jeanne des Anges and Marguerite-Marie express their love for God in sexual terms. The Hebrews used a common word for empirical and divine love.

Thus, the *RV* has a wholesome attitude towards the lovers. It looks upon them respectfully and finds nothing morally degrading in the act of love-making. This healthy attitude of the Aryans is later on manifested in giving pre-eminence to the erotic sentiment and in divinising the playful dalliances of Radha and Krsna with no sense of inhibition or puritanic reproach.

Jewellery and 'Ornamental Fashions

The *niska* has been already referred to. Another type was *rukma* (*RV* I.64.4 "*rukamas* on the chest" etc. etc.). Beads of various sorts were also used as ornaments and also as amulets. The *Rgveda* refers to the bead of gold (I.33.8 "Adorning themselves with the gold-bead", *hiranyayena manina sumbhamanah*, spoken of the followers of Vrtra, which reflects the actual use). The *Atharvaveda* refers to beads for magical purposes at various places. For this purpose beads of wood or particular trees were used, with the belief that they would drive away evil. For example, the bead of the Parna-tree (*Butea frondosa*) to win over rich people. (*AV* III.5.6 "Those that are fishermen, the makers of chariots, the artisans and those that are the intelligent ones, render them all favourable to me, O Parna!"). Beads of gold (*Ai. Br.* IV.6 *hiranyayam manim*; *AV* XII.1.44 *manim hiranyayam*) were strung in the thread (*Sat. Br.* XII.3.4.2 "Just as your hymns be strung together as a *mani* in the thread, or the thread in the *mani*").

The *Nirukta* refers to the *mani* of glass, or a polished *mani*?) (of metal?) to be used for kindling the fire from the concentration of the sunrays (VII.23 "When the sun has traversed to the northern quarter, if a polished *mani*, or a

brone plate is held in the sunbeams, focussing them on dried cow-dung, the latter catches fire"). The *Vajsaneyi-Sam.* mentions the *manikara* (XXX.7) "The *manikara* for beauty" to be symbolically brought to be sacrificed). This will show that the preparation of this ornaments of gold and other material was fairly advanced from the times of the *Rgveda* itself. The *karnasobhana* has been already referred to.

In addition to metal ornaments, or beads of wood covered with gold, ornaments of pearls (*krsana*) also were used. Thus, "Savitr is seated on the chariot resplendent variously with pearls" (RV I.35.4): "The gods have aborned the sky with the stars, as people adorn the black-brown horse with the *krsanas*" (Ibid. X.68.11).

Lotuses served as adornments. The blue lotus is especially associated with the Asvins [X. 184.1 "May the Asvins having the *puskara-sraj* lay foetus in you (O wife)"]. The blue lotus appears to be very favourite among the flowers (RV VI.16.13 Agni born from; the house-environs, X.107.10). Another type of lotus is the *purndarika* (white lotus), (Ibid, X.142.8 "May the tank be full of the *pundarikas*). The *Atharvaveda* describes the body as the *pundarika* with nine 'doors' symbolically, wherein resides the soul, designated as Yaksha (AV X.8.43).

Hair styles are indicated by the words *opasa*, *kaparada*, and *stuka*; also may be mentioned in this connectin in *kumba* and *kurira*, which indicate the ornaments of the head. There are different opinions as regards the exact nature of the *opasa*; but it appears to indicate the hair-style: "Pusan! the goad of yours that is *go-opasa*" (RV VI. 53.9, where it indicates the tufted cow-tail): Sinivali (the goodess of the night preceding the full-moon night) is said to be *su-opasa* (*Taitt. Sam.* IV.1.5.3.; *Maitt. Sam.* II.7.5). The *kaparda* was the braided hair-style; and it was worn by males and females alike: "The Trstsus), the *kapardinah*" (RV VII.83.8) and the Vasisthas "having the *kaparda* on the right side of the head" (Ibid.,

VII.33.1 *daksinats kapardah*); Pusan is *kaprdin* (VI.55.2); so is Rudra (Ibid., I.114.1); "*Vedi*, the young women having four *kapardas*" (Ibid. X.114.3). The *kaprda* appears to be an hairy attachment, rather than original hair or any other ornament. This is clear from an interesting reference which has been missed by scholars. A bull is called *kapardin*, as a special case, and this would not suggest the horn (which is not special with the bull) as Geldner says, nor natural hair, which the bull has none.

It must suggest an attachment of hair (Ibid X.101.8 "The *kapardi* moved on, being yoked to the plough-pole by the straps"). For *kurira* and *kumba*: "We place on the head the *kurira* and the *kumbaka*" (AV VI.138.3). If *kuririn* (AV V.31.2) indicates the peacock, as Zimmer says, the *kurira* must have been a comblike attachment on the head; and so was, in all probability, the *kumba* (For both we may compare the Indus seals where the deities have a similar head-wear; and for *kumba*, we may also compare the Tamil word *kombu*, which indicates both the horn and the comb made from it). *Sipra*, always mentioned in the dual, was another head-attachment, and is mentioned only with some gods in the *Rgveda*; it does not come as decorative devices later. The *Stuka* was the tuft of wool or hair, and was to be displayed on the head as an additional bunch (RV II.32.6 "Sinivali, having thick *stuka*"; AV VII.78.2 "I cut the *gandamala* like the *stuka*"). The *stuka* was worn by women. Sometimes it is mentioned as an ornamental woolen device that was worn loosely (RV I.167.5) "Heaven and Earth (females) that have the *visita-stuka*".

Metal-mirrors were used and were called *prakasa*; at times they appear as made of gold (*Sat. Br.* V.4.5.22 "For the Adhavaryu priest, the golden *prakasas*"; The *Mait. Sam.* IV.4.8 has it as *pravapa*) The polished bronze-plate has already been referred to in the *Nirukta* (800 B.C.). Whether it was used as a mirror then also is not clear. The *prakasa*

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may be compared with the copper-mirrors from the Indus valley.

Cosmetics are not separately mentioned; but there is indication that the ladies from well-to-do families used them (RV VII.55.8 *striyo yah punya-gandhah*).

Joint Undertaking, The Law of

We have already noticed that the Vedic Aryans took to joint undertakings at the earlier Rgvedic period, as evidenced by the functions of the sabha, samiti, Vidatha and Gana, discussed in detail in the previous chapter; and as indicated in the last hymn of the Rgveda) “Samana mantrah samitih samani samanam manah saha chittam-esam/samanam mantram-abhi mantraye vah samanena vo havisa juhomi//) which speaks of the spirit of the age when the Aryans did whatever they did after due deliberation and mutual agreement in a meeting or association.

The joint undertaking of priests in the Vedic sacrifices like the ‘jyotistoma’ and the mode of distribution of sacrificial fees (daksina) show how the principle of partnership was already formulated even in the Vedic period. The Katyayana srautasutra states: “yatharambham dvadasa dvadasadyebhyah sad-sad-dvitiyebhya-s-chatasra-s-chatasra-s-trtiyebhya-s-tisra-s-tisra itarebhyah’. That indicates that if the fee is 100 cows, four principal priest, Hotr., Adhvaryu, Udgatr and Brahman will get 48 in all (i.e., 12 each), their first four assistants, Maitravaruna, Pratiprasthatr, Brahmanacchammsin and Prastotr will have 24 in all (i.e., 6 each) and the next group of four priests will receive 16 in all (i.e., 4 of each of Acchavaka, Nestr, Agnidhra and Pratihartṛ) and the last group of 4 assistants will get 12 in all (i.e., 3 each), according to the law laid down. The question of distribution has been raised in Jaimini’s Mimamsa-sutra who concludes that as the Sruti mentions the words ‘ardhinah’ ‘trtiyinah’ and ‘pradinah’ in the text of Kat. S.S (“Adhvaryu-r-grhapatim diksayingitva

Brahanam diksayati tata-s-tam pratiprasthbata diksayingva rdhino diksayingati... Tata-s-tam Nesta diksayingva trtiyino diksayingati... Tata-a-atam-unneta diksayingiva padino diksayingati.”), the cows are to be distributed, as noted above.

We have noted before that the words ‘sresthin’ and ‘sraisthya’ in Vedic literature indicate the formation of trade-guilds even in that early period. But we have little information about the laws of different associations in the Vedic age. Even the earlier Dharmasutras are silent on the law of joint undertaking. Visnu D.S. speaks criminal combination of traders and provides punishment for those who corner goods and enhance period of trade-commodities.

The partner of such association, if found to have sold its goods on his own account is to be punished with the highest emercement (uttama-sahasa). He also lays down laws for controlling weights and checking adulteration of goods. From the above discussion we may infer that secular partnerships had not assumed importance in the Vedic period and even in the period of the earlier Dhara-sutras, though we find the germs of such combinations or groups, as indicated by words like Sreni in Rv., I. 163.10, Vrata and gana in Rv., III,26,6 and V, 53, 11 and puga in Kausitaki Br., 16.7. Visnu enjoins further that sale is complete with the payment of the price and if a seller, being paid, fails to deliver goods to the buyer, he must repay the price with interest and with a fine of 100 panas and on the contrary, if the buyer fails to buy and the value of good sold is reduced, the loss falls on the buyer. Gautama enjoins that ‘cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money lenders and artisans (have authority to lay down rules) for their respective classes.” (krsi-vanik-pasupalyah-knsida-karavah ave varge). This shows that these classes of people formed guilds which became powerful enough to extract from the king the privilege of formulating laws for their own groups.

K

Kambojas

The Kambojas are not directly mentioned in the Vedic texts; but Yaska mentions them in his *Nirukta*, where a peculiarity of their language is noted (*Nirukta* II.4 “The root *sav* has the sense of “going” among the Kambojas), and that they use blankets. (Ibid. *kambojah kambala-bhojah*). The *Vamsa Br.* mentions a teacher from Kamboja, Aupamanyava, whom we have referred to above in respect of the Nisadas and the Pancajanah, which shows that Kamboja was a settlement of the Aryans, north-west of the Sindhu.

Karman, the Doctrine of

The hymns of the *Rgveda* supply us with ample material for drawing a true picture of the Aryans in the Vedic age. It is an incontestable fact that in the hymns of the *Rgveda* the desire the worldly wealth plays an important role. The hymns abound with prayers for earthly good, progeny, a safe swelling, cattle and horses, food and fame. The ideal of life that the Vedic sage puts forth is not to be reached by meditation in the solitary jungle, but is to be worked out in struggle. The Vedic sage does not advocate the life of the hermit who runs away from the temptations of the world, and who lives secure in

the place of his retirement, absorbed in thinking over the remote problems of life, and remaining utterly forgetful of the experiences of society. The practical genius of Vedism never embraced the inactive life of the monastery.

The Vedic Aryans are a free and joyous race. A keen delight pervades the whole of the *Rgveda*. People do not shun the legitimate joys of this world. Life is pleasant and enjoyable, and living in the midst of the world's joys and sorrows is good. In this wholesome view life becomes more full, more complete and more lovable. Thus the Vedic Aryans are optimistic people. As yet the deeper and sadder problems of existence have not cast their shadow on the mind of the community.

Vedic sage, the realist, does not encourage exaggerated unworldliness. Earthly life has a great value and a deeper significance than the ascetic would acknowledge or believe. In the mythologies, both Hindu and Greek, we read much about heaven and hell. Great importance was attached to heaven and hell in post-Vedic literature, but in the Vedas themselves there is scanty reference to the world to come. Few references to death and future life are to be found in the hymns of the *Rgveda*, as the optimistic and active Vedic Indian seems to have given little thought to the other world. The Vedic Aryan's joy of life is explicitly clear from the attitude of worship which is anything but gloomy. Worship, like song and poetry, is an overflow of the joy of the soul:

We venerate with cheerful hearts the cheerful Agni,
dear to all,
Burning with purifying flame.

Though preoccupied with this life, there are a few hymns which deal with life after death. The existence of a life after death is firmly believed. But as yet no complicated theories of the life after death have emerged. There is no trace of the doctrine of transmigration in the *Rgveda*. The spirit of the deceased proceeds to another world which is sometimes called

the realm of Yama or death, and the world of fathers (*Pitrloka*). There the spirit finds the fathers revelling with Yama, and feasting with the gods. It is a land of joy and brightness where the departed soul lives in eternal bliss in the company of the other departed souls. Says the sage:

O Pavamana, place me in that deathness, undecaying
World,

Wherein the light of heaven is set, and everlasting lustre
shines.

Flow Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

Make me immortal in that realm where dwells the king,
Vivasvan's son,

Where is the secret shrine of heaven, where are those
waters young and fresh,

Flow Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

The Vedic Aryans have not preserved to us much about the picture of hell or the realm of the sinners. This is probably because the people were a hopeful and cheerful race who never liked to depict the horrors of the hell. Though the *Atharvaveda* shows a belief in a place of future punishment, the utmost that can be inferred with regard to the *Rgveda* is the notion that unbelievers were thrown into an underground darkness after death. There is no dirt-coloured picture of hell and its horrors.

The Vedism has the roots of its ethics purely in the heroic ideal. According to it, there would be no compromise with evil. The existence of evil is recognised, but it is believed that evil can be fought and fought successfully. The Veda preaches open battle against evil forces, the most important of the Vedic duties. Indra symbolizes this ideal. He is especially honoured as a fighter against evil. He is described as *Vrtrahantama*, the supreme among killers of Vrtra. It is stated that the enemy, whether our kin or foreigner, should be

valiantly opposed. The evil-doer must be eliminated.

In the Upanisads, the status of man is very high. He is not a play thing in the hands of nature or any other outward force. On the other hand, man is a spirit and by becoming spiritually conscious he can control his destiny. Through ignorance, the soul forgets its divine nature, and by identifying itself with mind, senses and body, it becomes bound. It can realise its true nature only when it has removed the cover of ignorance. And this can be effected by self-effort. The following lines from the Upanisads stress the importance of self-effort in our spiritual life:

This self cannot be attained by the weak, by the inattentive, nor by one who practises spiritual disciplines improperly. The wise who strive through proper means realise the infinite spirit.

That man who uses the mind for reins and the knowledge for the driver reaches and end of his road, the highest seat of Visnu.

The doctrine of *karman* is not fatalistic in that it is not an external power acting on man. But it usually has the same effect upon man by leaving him with the fatalistic attitude that a man gets happiness or unhappiness, success or failure, according to his previous actions. Now let us see how and when this idea of *karman* dawned on the Indian mind in the face of such a robust optimism of the Vedas.

The word *rta*, which has been abundantly used in the Vedas, has some resemblance with *karman*. Vedic scholars generally interpret it in the sense of universal or cosmic order or the eternal law binding on gods and men alike. The conception of *rta* is all-important, not only for the religion of the *Rgveda*, but for the whole subsequent course of Vedic religion. There is little doubt that the term originally was used for the course of nature. It is most frequently used in connection with the sacrifice. It is the law by which the sacrifice reaches the gods and by which the gods respond with appropriate blessings to men.

The idea of *rta* later develops into (a) the Mimamsa conception of *apurva*, the law according to which the fruits of rituals can be enjoyed in a distant future, (b) the Nyaya-Vaisesika theory of *adrsta*, which brings about objects and events in accordance with moral principles and (c) the general conception of *karman*, which is accepted by all Indian systems with the solitary exception of the materialists. Thus, it can be safely said that the Vedic *rta* gave birth in later times to the doctrine of *karman*. But it is not at all known to the Vedas proper.

We see that in the Brahmanas sacrifice gains a very important place. Sacrifice there is regarded as possessing a mystical potency superior even to the gods. It is sometimes stated that even the gods attained their divine rank by means of sacrifice. It is regarded as almost the only kind of duty, and is also called *karman*, or *kriya* (action). The unalterable law is that these mystical ceremonies are sure to produce their fruits. Sacrifice is offered to a god not to attain from him welfare on earth or bliss in heaven. Rather, these rewards are directly produced by the sacrifice. If it can be duly performed, there is no power which can stop or delay the fruit. It is perhaps here that we find the gems of the law of *karman*.

The *Satapatha Brahmana* say that a man is born into whatever world is made by his acts of previous existence. Thus, the principle of *karman*, if not the elaborated theory, is known in the *Sathapatha Brahmana*. Possibly here is the first mention of *karman* as we know it.

The law of *karman* has been fully established in the Upanisads. In the *Kathopanisad* we find Yama teaching to Naciketas: "After death, some embodied beings enter the womb in order to have a body. Others enter immovable things according to their actions and knowledge. Here is an explicit declaration of the idea of transmigration of the human soul, in accordance with the quality of *karman*."

In the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad* the doctrine of *karman* has been realised with a firmer grip. Thus, it is said that every action, good or bad, leaves its indelible mark on the character. "A man becomes such as his action and as his conduct are. One who acts righteously becomes righteous, and one who acts wickedly becomes wicked; a man becomes holy by holy actions; a man becomes a sinner by sinful actions.

There is further a very interesting passage in the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad* on *karman*. In the course of the metaphysical discussion of Yajnavalkya and assembled sages in the court of Janaka, Jaratkarava Artabhaga says. "When a man dies, his speech enters the fire, his breath enters the air, his eyes the sun, mind the moon etc. What, then, becomes of the man?" Yajnavalkya catches the hand of Artabhaga and says, "Let us discuss the question by ourselves: it should not be discussed in public." So the two go out and discuss the subject. We are not given in full report of their discussion, but it is said: "What they said was *karman*, what they praised was *karman*."

This passage anticipates a much later development of the theory of *karman*. This doctrine of *karman*, once accepted, became fundamental to the Indian thought. It gave a satisfactory solution of the mystery of suffering, and it justified the apparent social wrongs and inequalities of the Aryan society. The fact that the doctrine of *karman*, quickly obtained acceptance shows that it met ancient India's spiritual needs in a perfect manner.

Karoti: Vedic Site

Karoti appears in the age of the Brahmanas as a seat of the fire-cult par excellence. In the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (IX.5.2.15) Sandilya, the principal authority on the building of altars for the sacred fires describes it as the place where Tura Kavaseya made a fire-altar for the gods.

Tura was the priest of Parikṣita Janamejaya, a great conqueror and performer of horse-sacrifices whom he anointed with Aindra Mahabhiseka. In the *Bhagavata-Purana* this Janamejaya is identified with the grandson of Abhimanyu and stated to have performed the great Snake-sacrifice to avenge the death of his father Paarikṣita as a result of snake-bite at the hands of Taksaka.

It is, however, possible that Janamejaya, the patron of sage Tura was an earlier ancestor of the Pandavas. He appears as an ancient sage in the *Brhadaranayaka-Upanisad* (Kanva recension, VI.5.4) and the *Khila* and is probably identical with Tura described as the Devamuni, or saint of gods, in the *pancaimsa-Brahmana* (XXV.14.4). In the *vamsa* or line of succession of teachers who had known the *Asmedha*, given in the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (X.6.5.9.), Tura Kavaseya is said to have received it from Prajapati who had, in his turn, received it directly from the self-existent *Brahman*. Oldenberg is therefore right in assigning him to the end of the Vedic period.

His ancestor Kavasa was the author of several hymns of the *Rgveda*, according to the *Anukramoni*, including two (X. 32 & 33) that deal with a Prince Kurusravana and his descendant Upamasravas. Originally probably a non-Brahmin or non-believer in the hieratic Brahmanic religion, according to V.G. Rahrkar he was possibly a priest of tribes antagonistic to Sudas and Indra. The *Aitareya-Brahmana* (II.19) gives the following episode involving him.

“The Rsis, when once holding a sacrificial session on the (banks of) Sarasvati, expelled Kavasa, the son of Ilusa from (their) Soma sacrifice, saying: How should the son of a slave girl, a gamester, who is no Brahmin, remain among us and become initiated (into all sacrificial rites)? They turned him out (of the place) into a desert, he, being vexed by thirst, saw (the *mantra* called), Aponaptriyaṃ: *prag devatra brahmane gatur etu* etc., i.e. may there be a way leading to the gods for the *Brahman* (may he be received among them). By this

means be obtained the favour of the waters. They went out (of their house) to (meet) him. Sarasvati surrounded him on all sides. Therefore, that place is called Parisaraka (from *enam-kavasam parisasara*). As Sarasvati had surrounded him on all sides, the Rsis said, "The gods know him; let us call him back. All consented and called him back...."

A similar story is reported in the *Kausitaki-Brahmana* (XII.3).

Kavasa, the ancestor of Tura, and undoubtedly his family, were thus connected with Sarasvati — especially its lower region near the desert where it was lost in the sands around Vinasana, in the age of the Brahmanas when the cult of sacrifice was in its prime. Janamejaya Parikṣita, patron of Tura, was undoubtedly ruling over Kuruksetra as an old *gatha* (stanza) reported in the *Aitareya-Brahmana* (VII.21) says that he bound a horse which was eating grain, adorned with a mark on its forehead, and with yellow flower-garlands, which was walking over the best (fields full of fodder), for the gods at Asandivat or the present town of Asandh in Karnal District.

On these facts, Karoti should be situation in the lower part of Kuruksetra. And it is precisely here, on the southern or left side of the old Drsadvati bed about 1½ kms. to the south-east of Diplana Railway Station on the Hanumangary-Sadulpur branch of the Northern Railway, that we find the impressive mound of the site which is still known by its original name Karoti. The habitation is a small village of about 237 souls situated 29° 10' N by 74° 50' E. The mound covers about 200 *bighas* (50 acres) of land and is about four meters in height, located 12 kms. to the east of Nohar by crow-flight and about 5 kms. to the south-east of the well-known pre-historic site of Sothi in a region which is known for the abundance of pre-historic and proto-historic sites.

The site was explored by Devendra Handa with a group of five others on the 29th of August, 1971 and the account of their findings was published by him in the Hindi Journal *Maru*

Sri. According to Handa the site holds great promise for excavation, and archaeological material of Pre-historic, Early historic and Medieval ages has been found here. Remains of Sothi as pre-Harappan and Harappan material include pottery in various designs, terracotta cakes, terracotta animal figurines, shell-bangle pieces, slingballs and a 4% 2.75" human head with big eyes, pressed cheeks, flat nose, open mouth and chinless lower lip made to red sand stone. The style of clay figureines of birds and animals suggest that the eyes were fixed later the holes were made in the eyes, nose, ears, etc., as was the practice in Kulli culture.

Remains of Early historic period were noticed in abundance. Out of these plain and black or chocolate painted red ware, pottery pieces carrying lines, dotted and stamppe designs, pieces of thick hand-made storage pottery, pieces of potters' babbers, clay beads and balls of different sizes, shell and glass bangle-pieces, with engraved lotus motif, some pottery pieces in Rangamahar style and baked bricks of 9% 13½% 2" and 8½% 12¾% 1½" sizes are worth mentioning. These Early historic remains relate to the first four-five centuries of the Christian era. A copper spoon-handle, a copper coin, a clay horse figurine, a small statuette in black stone with its head, one hand and both legs missings, a piece of black polished pottery, clay beads, etc., probably belonging to the Medieval period, were also found.

The mound of Karoti is thus likely to contain vidence of its continuous occupation from the pre-Harappan times and to strengthen the equation of the Harappan culture with the age of the Brahmanas as indicated by the discovery of fire-altars at Kalibangan and Rakhi Garhi. As at Karoti Pre-historic archaeological material including earthen pottery pieces and clay animal figurines has been recovered from old moulds around Nohar which too, like Kalibangan, appears to have a direct relation with the Sothi and Harappan culture.

Kalibangan has been indentified with Vinasana whichhas been

specifically named in Brahmanas and Srauta-sutras as the place for consecration (*diksa*) for the *Sarasvata* and *Darsadvata* sacrificial sessions which were to be performed while moving upstream along the river. In case of the *Sarasvata-Sattra*, the Yajamana moved along the eastern bank of the Sarasvati towards its source at Plaksapra-sravana where the session was supposed to end following the *Avabhrtha* or the lustral bath in the Yamuna. En route to the river's confluence with the Drasdvati for resuming one's advance upstream. Likewise, for the *Darsadvata* sacrificial session one was required to follow upstream from the point of the confluence the eastern bank of the Drasdvati and ultimately to terminate the session after a lustral bath at Triplaksavaharna on the Yamuna. It is quite probable that during the Brahmana age the pre-historic sites of Nohar, Karoti, Sothi, Siswal and Rakhi Garhi were the sacrificial centres, where the performers of *Darsadvata-Sattras* stopped in their march upstream along the Drasdvati. This conclusion finds support from the clear reference in the *Satapatha-Brahmana* to Karoti as a seat for sacrifices as well as from the discovery of fire-altars from Harappan level at Kalibangan and Rakh Garhi. Proof of the prevalence of the cult of sacrifice in the Harappan age is indeed coming from sites as distant as Nawada Today and Dangawada in Madhya Pradesh where *Yajnasalas* and house-temples have been discovered along with evidence of the knowledge of Harappan script and economic connections with distant coastal Harappan settlements.

It is time that the Archaeological Survey of India underlook excavations at well-known Vedic sites to explore the possibility of an equation between the cultural ages represented by the so-called prehistoric sites and different classes of Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit literature instead of adding to what can be labelled only in terms of pre-Harappan, Harappan and post-Harappan.

Known Vedic sites in Haryana like Manusa, Kapisthala, Asandivat and Karoti have been ignored long enough and may soon lose whatever little is still left in the name of evidence of their antiquity.

Karu

Some thirty years ago the German scholar Paul Thieme basing himself upon *AV.* 20, 127, 11 *indrah karum abubudhad u't tistha vicara jaran / mamed ugrasya carkrdhi sarva it te prnad arih* "Indra has woken up the proclaimer (of his praise, saying): "Rise, wander about praising; speak highly of me, the powerful one; every *ari* will grant you abundant (gifts)", argued that in the Veda a *karu*—which in the *Petrograd Dictionary* was translated by "eulogist, poet"—must have been a wandering bard who in this stanza is enjoined to praise the god in the house of a stranger, or at least of other people. In a later publication the same scholar expressed the opinion that such a wandering bard, being endowed with the divine virtue of his inspiration, must have been inviolable or rather sacrosanct and was therefore supposed to make an excellent messenger. His views were recently endorsed by Rudiger Schmitt in a book on poetry and poetical language in (prehistoric) Indo-European times. Recalling the well-known Greek word *ka'rux* (in the Ionic and Attic dialects *kerux*), which is usually translated by "herald", he made an attempt at demonstrating that this word and Vedic *karu*—which notwithstanding the *k*-extension and the long *u* in Greek have very often been considered to be etymologically identical—continue an original Indo-European term (*karu-*) for the "poet". The semantic gulf between the Vedic word translated by "poet, panegyrist, reciter of eulogies" and the Greek word meaning "herald" should, he argues, be bridged over by the considered that both functionaries essentially were wandering and that one and the same original function may have differentiated in the different cultural milieus of (prehistoric) Greece and India.

This argument gives occasion to some critical remarks. First, is it warranted to assume on the strength of a single passage that the most prominent characteristic of a Vedic *karu-* was his ambulatory living? The large majority of the occurrences point to another semantic kernel or central meaning. A *karu-* was to praise and extol a god or divine power in his eulogies, to honour them rejoice them or to “be kind” to them (*RV* 3, 33, 8 *ukthesu karo prati no jusasuv*; see 8, 92, 19 *indraya...stobhantu no girah / arkan arcabty karavah* “our words of praise must raise themselves for Indra; the proclaimers of his praise start a eulogy”; 3, 39, 7; 8, 94, 3; 10, 75, 1) and was expected to gain a hearing (*RV* 3, 33, 9f.). He is also said to wake up the Asvins by means of his well-spoken or well-formed words (*RV* 7, 68, 9 *esa sya karur jarate suktair agre budhand usasam sumanma*). From the smile in *RV* 2, 43, 1 it appears that the eulogist was, naturally enough, characterised by his voice: ominous birds answer like *karavah* raising their voices at the right moment. According to *RV* 1, 178, 3 Indra, who is together with his heroic worshipper victorious in combat, hears the *haru* who seeks his help, but the poet words this idea as follows, “Indra will hear the call of the poet in need *srota havam na'dhamanasya karoh*).

It is true that the verb *carati* is again used at *RV* 8, 92 33 but the context makes it quite clear that the acclamations of praise, not the movements or wandering of the eulogist are the centre of interest: *tva'm id dhi tuayavo' nnonuvatas caran / sakhaya indra karavah* “For thee alone thy faithful supporters will (continuously) follow with acclamations of praise, (thy) companions, O Indra, the proclaimers of (thy) praise”. As is well-known the verb *carati* accompanied by a participle could express continuous action. Thus *RV* 1, 83, 6 speaks of a *karu-* who being skilled in praising raises his voice (*vadati karur ukthyah*) in the house or in the compound of a sacrificer, but the text quite intelligibly omits any reference to his origin or journeys. That the eulogist travelled is without question: see probably *RV* 1, 11, 6 stating that the poet

returned, that is, no doubt, went home, with gifts, and addressed (probably to make mention of his success and rendered an account of the recompenses received) the river (of his country), the *karavah* being witnesses, and 1, 165, 15 etc. where it is implied in the words "We would like to find a prosperous sacrificial enclosure the owners of which are inclined to give abundantly". Cf. also stanza 14. It is not surprising that these eulogists should have praised also their patrons (*RV* 6. 45, 33).

A *karu-* did not only deliver his eulogies, he also composed them: cf. *RV* 1, 184, 4 requesting the Asvins to stimulate the eulogy of the *karu-* (*stomam hintoram...karoh*). The early morning was the point of time that was especially proper to the manifestation of "visions" and innspiration; hence the invocation of the Asvins whose matutinal character is well-known). See also 1, 148, 2 where Agni's activity is the determinant factor in the poet's receiving inspiration; 3, 6, 1; 4, 16, 3; 9, 10, 6. In *RV* 8, 3, 18 the *karavah* are called *viprasah*, a term which denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and enthusiast seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the vibrating emotional sacred words. As inspired poets the *karavah* knew more than other men (compare e.g. *RV* 9, 92, 5). Yet I would hesitate to translate the appellation *karu-* by "poet."

Thus the phrases *girbhir grnanti karavah* "the proclaimers praise (extol) with eulogies (verses, invocations)" (*RV* 8, 46, 3; 8, 54, 1 and *RVkh.* 3, 6, 1 adding *stobhantah* "shouting") *grnantah karavo rira'* (9, 29, 2) and *grnatah karu'n* (5, 33, 7)—cf. also 6, 24, 2—may be supposed to indicate in as few words as possible the most essential side of the character of this Vedic figure who in the first place was a "proclaimer of praise". I would however object to Thieme's translation of *RV* 6, 45, 33 *tat su no visve arya a sada grnanti karavah* "that all bards praise (for) us well (also those) in the house of the stranger." Hence also the juxtaposition of *karu-* and *jaritar-* in *RV* 1, 165, 14: Indra, addressing the Maruts, states

that the inspiration or wisdom of *Manya* (who in stanza 15 and elsewhere is said to be a *karu-*), has called the gods near, and expects the eulogist (*jaritar-*) to start his praise upon them. In all probability *Manya*, the *karu-*, and the *jaritar-* are the same person. Another relevant place is *RV.* 7, 68, 9, *esa sya karur jarate saktair* reference to which has already been made. As invokers the *karavah* appear also *RV.* 6, 46, 1 (*VS.* 27, 37) *tva'm (=Indra)id thi havamahe sata' vajasasya karavah* "we, *karavah*, invoke thee concerning (with a view to) the acquisition of *vaja*" and *AV.* 7, 73, 1 *vayam hi vam...asvina havamahe...karavah*. At *RV.* 7, 72, 4 they are accordingly said to offer their stanzas, charged with brahman, to the same gods, viz. the Asvins (*pra vam brahmani karavo bharante*). see also *RV.* 6, 21, 1 *karor havyam*.

Special attention may be paid to *RV.* 7, 82, 4 because in this stanza a clear difference is made between the charioteers who invoke Indra and Varuna in the encounters on the battle-field and the *karavah* who call upon the same gods "in (during) the generation of peaceful possession of property" (*yuva'm id yutsu pr'tanasu vahnayo yuva'm ksemaya prasave.../ karavah...havamahe*). Judging from this place the principal occupation of these eulogists was the invocation of the gods in time of peace, but *RV.* 10, 61, 23 royal patrons are described as resorting, during a military expedition or, rather, a raid, to a *karu*—who is said to be their dearest *vipra*—, because the eulogist was believed to be able to help them and to bring their venture to a successful close. Geldner may be right in identifying this eulogist with the royal purohita who indeed often accompanied his patron to the battle-field.

It is further worth noticing that the activity of the *karu-* was an important and even indispensable element of a correct and effective performance of the elaborate rites. The poet of *RV.* 1, 31, 8 requests Agni to make after being praised (by the *karu-*), the latter honoured in order to enable him to gain wealth and expresses the wish that the new work or production

(*apas*, no doubt the *karu*-’s eulogy) may be the means by which the sacrifice may be successful. another interesting stanza is *RV* 10, 92, 7 stating that the *karavah* have fashioned Indra’s vajra in the assemblage of the men (Lords): this must mean that their activity during the sacrificial sessions has strengthened Indra and stimulated him into a display of courage and heroism. Hence also *RV* 1, 53, 6 in which the same god is said to have extirpated, on behalf of the *karu*- and of the owner of sacrificial grass, i.e. the sacrificer, ten thousand of enemies (*yat karave dasa vrtra ’ny...barhismate ni sahasrani barhayah*). For the *karu*-’s relations to Indra see also I, 102, 9; at 5, 33, 7 this god is implored to be his protector. The compound *karudhaas*- “nourishing supporting the *karu*- “is among Indra’s epithets (*RV* 6, 21, 8; 6, 24, 2 etc.). Notwithstanding the somewhat vague meaning of the noun *vrjanesu* at *RV* 2, 2, 9 so much is clear that there also an allusion is made to the *karu*-’s activity (and that a profitable one) in the sacrificial congregations: the *dhi*- (“poem based on inspiration) of men has become swollen among the immortal denizens of heaven so as to be a milk-yielding cow for the proclaimer in the sacrificial congregations. The post of *RV* 2, 34, 7 implores the Maruts to give such a proclaimer a reward (...*data...urjanesu karve sanim*). It is therefore not surprising that Agni, the god of inspiration (*RV* 8, 39, 9), the first and the best *rsi* (1, 31, 9 invoked to be the *karu*-’s “father” (the one who forms his person) and “providence” (*tanukr ’d bodhi pramatis ca karsave*).

That the functionary under discussion was employed on the sacrificial ground and that his voice was a valuable asset to a satisfactory performance of his task may be inferred also from the Apri-hymn *RV* 10, 110, (*AV* 5, 12), st. 7: “the two divine hotars, well-voiced...fashioning the act of worship for man to worship, *karu*, urging in (10) the sacrificial rites...” If Sayana is right in supplying after “urging” (*pracodayantau*) *rtviyo yajamanams ca* “the officiants and the sacrificers”—for the construction see *RV* 6, 75, 13; 9, 85, 2—, the *karu*-’s appearance

on the sacrificial grounds or the performance of his duties may in this context have been regarded as urging those present to execute their particular tasks. The poet of *RV* 7, 2, 7 speakers and proclaimers of praise present at man's acts of sacrificial worship (*uipra yajnesu ma'nusesu karu'*).

It is doubtful whether the *karu-* may on the strength of a single text, *RV* 9, 112,3, "I am a *karu-*, my father is physician" be said to have been a professional man.

There can be no doubt whatever that the etymological connectoin of the term under consideration with the Vedic verb *carkarti* "to make mention of, has been rightly established and adopted by the authors of many dictionaries. The meaning of this verb is indeed in perfect harmony with that of the noun: cf. e.g. *RV* 4, 39, 1 *asum dadhikra'm tam u nu stavama divas prthivya' uta carkirama*. "We will now praise the swift (race-horse) Dadhikra, and we will speak highly of Heaven and Earth." Nor can any objection be taken to connecting with these words also the noun *kirti-* "mention, report, good report, fame, renown, glory etc."

That does not however mean that the word bard, which was used not only by Thieme, but also by Renou to render the Sanskrit term under discussion, is altogether felicitous. In normal English usage bard means "a Celtic tribal singer, minstrel and chronicler", but the term, although clearly of Celtic origin, as been applied also to recognised singers and reciters of other peoples. With the ancient Celts they were, according to some antique sources, distinct from the seers and the druids who specialised in a variety of intellectual, spiritual, sacerdotal, magical and prognostic activities. In Wales where the two other "learned" classes did no longer exist they developed into a close and honoured social group. In Ireland they ranked below the official court-poets who held a special place of honour as repositories of hero-sagas, national traditions, genealogies and juridical learning. However inventive a bard—in a more general sense—might be, he seems to have

been regarded as a reciter or artist rather than as an author. His chief concern was the maintenance of traditions, and he often claimed a divine power or the past as the source of his information. From Homer's times the often wandering and not rarely blind bard was more or less professionally employed at the courts of princes and noblemen, singing their praises and extolling their families, but his recitations were also enjoyed by the whole company present. The themes of these tales were often heroic and in time of war the bards would, in Asia and medieval Europe, accompany their patrons and inflame their soldiers against the enemy by reciting traditions of the great past. They were sometimes credited with particular, for instance magical properties and associated with peculiar liberties or privilege. Religious authorities not infrequently viewed them with suspicion and hostility.

It is clear that even if the Vedic *kakru*- normally made a living by passing from one patron to another and even if he praised the wealthy and powerful as often as he glorified the gods we had, notwithstanding a certain partial resemblance between his activities and those of the bard, better avoid translating the appellation conferred upon him by the celtic term, whether we take this in its original sense or in the sense attached to it by the students of the history of literature.

Let us finally turn to the Greek noun *kerux* which, being translated by "herald, messenger", was quoted by Schmitt to persuade his readers into accepting his conclusion that there was in the original Indo-European period a term for "the poet". In Homeric times the *kerux* was an important aid of a king employed for a multiplicity of tasks such as convening meetings (*iliad*, 2, 50 "(king) Agamemnon bade the clear-voiced heralds summon to the place of gathering the long-aired Achaeans"); maintaining order in a meeting (2, 97 "the place of gathering was in a turmoil...; nine hearlds shouting sought to restrain them"; 18, 503 "heralds he'd back

the folk"); acting as officials (7, 183 f.) or as masters of the ceremonies (*Od.* 8, 62 ff.); giving attendance as seconds in a duel (11. 7, 274, one of the Trojans and one of the Greeks, "both of them men of prudence"); taking measures with regard to sacrifices (3, 116 ff.); preparing banquets and the animals to be offered as a sacrifice (18, 558). When king Priam went to the Greeks to ransom his son who had been killed he was alone, but a herald attended him, "an elder man, to guide mules and waggon and to carry back the dead body" (24, 149 ff.). The *kerux* was also employed as a messenger or ambassador (1, 320 ff.) and accompanied others, for instance persons of rank and authority, to important negotiations etc. (*Od.* 10, 59; 102): Apparently there were then already not only private heralds, but also public officials (heralds "who work for the people"; *Od.* 19, 135). They were inviolable, and carried as their badge a staff. In later Greece they retained much of their importance, assisting magistrates (making proclamations and keeping order) in law courts and assemblies and fulfilling a variety of other public (political, military, commercial and diplomatic) functions. In the last mentioned capacity they bore messages to other states but were not entitled to *negotiate*. According to antique sources they acted as such especially in time of war. Mention is also made of "heralds" in the employ of societies or corporations. The epithets applied to the Homeric *kerux* are interesting: he is "loud-voiced" and "sounds through the air", he is "a crier" and "calls through the city", but as far as I am able to see he was never an eulogist or expected to compose hymns or poems. That he was under the protection of the god Hermes and "dear to Zeus" (II. 8, 517) was not adduced by Schmitt as a parallel to Indra's relations to the *karu-*. From the texts themselves, the above epithets and some derivative verbs ("to proclaim, announce, summon, declare, notify, tell") and nouns ("proclamation, announcement") it appears that the use this functionary made of his voice was (or had been) his most striking characteristic. So no objection can probably be made

to connecting this Greek word also, with many etymologists, with the Vedic *carkarti* (see above), which is also related to German words for “informing, reporting; renown, praise, fame”, and a Lithuanian word for “proclaiming.”

Summarising the above discussion it would be contended that the Vedic *karu-* and the Greek *kerux*, although their appellations were etymologically related, were, it is true, both of them “spokesmen”, speaking, on behalf of patrons or others, in public obviously being the most conspicuous part of their task. In detail their functions were widely different, those of the *kerux* being more like the task of the *suta* as represented by the authors of the *brahmanas*. Granting that in olden times no clear distinction was made between the man who composed poems, hymns or tales and the man who delivered them, the Vedic term *karu-* alone—for Greek *kerux* does not support Schmitt’s argument—,denoting the “proclaimer of praise”, cannot, in my opinion, prove the existence, in the common father-land of all Indo-Europeans, of a poet, known by the name of **karu-*, and mainly characterised by his wanderings.

Kiratas and Others

The Kiratas are mentioned early (*Vaj. Sam.* XXX.16 “For the caves, the Kirata”; and yet earlier, *Av.* X.4.14 “The Kirata-girl that digs the medicinal herb on the top of the mountains”). Here are other tribes mentioned in the *Aitareya Br.*, (VII.18) in the context of the sacrifice of Hariscandra. “These are the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and the Mutivas”. The list occurs also in the *Sankhyayana Srauta sutra* (XV.26.6) except for the Pulindas. The Pulindas were, probably, to the South of the Bhilsa region (see also *Mahabharata*. *Adi* 74,36-38; *Bhisma* 9.38-70 for various tribes, including the ones noted above). The Sabaras, the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy, lived in the Vizagapatam hills. The Pundras have been located in Bihar

and Bengal by the Mahabharata. The Andhras, originally, lived between the Godavari and the Krsna in the south.

Kramapatha

The Kramapatha is described in chapters 10 and 11 of the *Rgveda-Pratisakhya*. These chapters give indications how to arrive at the Kramapatha on the basis of the Padapatha and the Samhitapatha. The relationship between chapters 10 and 11 is a peculiar one. Chapter 11 restates much that is said in chapter 10 and adds explanations as well as alternatives proposed by others. Already Muller (1869; CCXLVI; cf. Shastri, 1952:76) concluded from this that chapter 11 is a supplement to chapter 10, the main aim being to give reasons for the rules of chapter 10. But the search for reasons, Muller observes, led to something else. Where the presumed rationale of certain rules was not fully attained by these rules, new rules were added or modifications proposed. One traditionally handed down Kramapatha was none the less known to the author of chapter 11. This is clear from certain sutras in this chapter. Sutra 11.8 (620) questions the rationality of some features of the Kramapatha, thus indicating that the Kramapatha existed in a fixed form even where this was considered irrational. Sutas 11.63-65 (675-76) are quite explicit on this point: "But one should not go beyond what is customary. While saying that both tradition and reasoning are the way of the Kramapatha, one should praise other (rules regarding the formation of the Kramapatha only in as far as they are) in agreement with its (i.e., of the Kramapatha) completion. The rules of the Kramapatha are correct as they were taught in the beginning, but not with all kinds of deviations (therefrom). Thus Babhravya, the propounder of the Kramapatha, propounded and praised the Kramapatha." (*acaritam tu notkramet / kramasya vartma smrtisambhava ubruvan samadhim asyanvitarani kirtayet // yathopadistam kramasatram aditah punah prthaktvair vividhair na sadhuvat // iti pra babhravya uvaca ca kramam kramaprovakta*)

prathamam sasamsa ca // RV, Pr. XI, 63-65).

In view of the above, we can conclude that chapter 10 of the *Rgveda-Pratisakhya* describes the Kramapatha as it was traditionally handed down and, we may assume, as it was at the time of its composition.

Some features of the Kramapatha as described in chapter 10 of the *Rgveda Pratisakhya* allow us to gain knowledge of the stage to which retroflexion in the Samhitapatha had reached. Sutra 10.3 (592) of the *Rgveda-Pratisakhya* tells us that “they finish (a group of words joined in the Kramapatha) having passed over...*su* and *sma* when retroflexed and followed by *nah*” (*nate susmeti nahpare...atityaitany avasyanti*). In these cases the Kramapatha contains groups of three rather than two words. The examples given by the commentator Uvata are: *mo su nah* (RV 1.38.6); *asu sma nah* (RV 6.44.18). For *sma* there are no further examples; for *su* there are, such as: *u su nah* (RV 1.36.13); *o su nah* (RV 1.138.7); *te su nah* (RV 1.169.5); *mo su nah* (V 1.173.12); etc.

It is clear why in these cases three rather than two words from a group. Retroflexion of *s* in the second word is conditioned by the first word, the second word—thus modified—causes in its turn retroflexion of *n* in *nah*. Retroflexion in the third word is therefore (indirectly) conditioned by the first word. Groups of two words at a time would not show the *Samhita* form *nah*, contrary to what is desired.

The above shows that at the time of composition of the Kramapatha the Samhitapatha read *mo su nah*, *asu sma nah*, etc., with retroflex *s* and *s*. In this respect the Kramapatha agrees with the *Rgveda* as described in the *Rgveda-Pratisakhya*, not with the *Rgveda* as it existed when the Padapatha was composed.

Krivis

Another less prominent tribe is that of the Krivis. It is referred to in the *Rgveda*, and there is indication there that it lived between the Sindhu and the Asihni (Cenab), "By which (of your protections) you did favour the Sindhu...by which you favoured the Krivi-king" (RV VIII. 20.24.; and in the very next verse we have reference to the Asikni (v.25. "What be the medicine in the Sindhu, what in the Asikni and what in the seas..."). The insignificance of this tribe in the later literature indicates its merger in the Kuru-Pancalas.

There is clear indication that Krivi was the former name of the Pancalas, "What it (i.e...the Horse-sacrifice did the Panacalas called formerly" (*Sat. Br. XIII. 5.4.7*, esp. *Krivaya iti ha pura Panncalan acadsate*). According to Zimmer (*Altindische Leben*, p. 103) the Krivis and the Kurus formed the later-known Vaikarnas. The Vaikarnas are already mentioned in the *Rgveda*, as having fought against the king Sudas Bharata (vii. 18.11 *Vaikarnayar Janan raja (Sudas) ny'astah*); and the Mahabharata also mentions them as a formidable tribe helping the Kuru king Duryodhana (Bhisma, 51.15 where the Asvatakas, the Kosalas and the Ambasthas are mentioned on his side). If the Vikarnas or the Vaikarnas are the same as the people staying in Vaekereta of the Avesta, it is clear that it was a very ancient tribe, which later, got merged in the Kuru-Pancalas. Darmesterter (*Vendidad, SBE*) identifies the Vaekereta regin as Kabul, and it is also said to be a part of Kashmir (*St. Petersburg Dict.*)

Kuksi (Dual)

In post-Vedic literature *kuksi* (singular) means belly. The dual *kuksi* in the Veda causes problems, since more than one belly is strange. Moreover, the occurrence of *kuksi* side by side with *udara* asks for an explanation. Some translators 'solve' the problem by using a plural equivalent in a modern language or by selecting twofold body parts vaguely associated

with the region of the belly. However, the dual cannot be overlooked, as it is supported by *ubha* ‘(both)’, and translation like ‘paunches’ or ‘sides’ are questionable from an anatomical point of view. In the RV. the dual as well as the singular are found and there is no indication that the singular refers to only one side.

The translation ‘pelvis’ is used by Filliozat in his book on Indian medica science. In the Veda, however, the use of the dual and the fact that Indra’s *kuksi* are filled with Soma and meat speak against such an interpretation.

An entirely new interpretation was put forward by Stephanie Jamison in 1987. She starts from an original dual ‘cheeks’ which in post-RVic texts by transference also came to mean ‘buttocks’. In another transference of meaning ‘cheeks’ would have developed into ‘pregnant belly’ and ultimately into ‘belly in general’.

Jamison starts with observing that in the ten occurrences of the term in the RV the *kuksi* always belongs to Indra and is often filled with Soma. Moreover in some Vedic mantras *jathara* and *udara* almost seem to be replaceable by *kuksi*. Nevertheless she attaches much importance to the use of the dual (“a highly marked category in Vedic”) and to the fact that the other words which denote belly or the abdominal region never take the dual. It is also noted that AV.2, 5, 2 *indra jatharam...prnasva* and AV.2.5.4... *indra prnasva kuksi* imply that *kuksi* hardly can be interpreted as ‘belly’ (unless the author of this hymn wanted to repeat one statement with variation).

Discussing the proposed translations of the term she criticizes Wendy O’Flaherty’s “both sides of my belly” (RV.10.86,14) on the argumentation that ‘sides’ are not filled with drinks or foods in the English idiom and that the usual word for ‘side’, *parsva*, is never said to be filled. In my view the English idiom does not prove anything about the Vedic and *parsva*

denotes the sides of the thorax rather than the abdominal sides. Moreover, we should take into account that turns of phrase denoting the consumption of enormous quantities of food and drinks are often colloquial and then are not conspicuous for anatomical accuracy. Somebody who has eaten his belly full may be said to have a paunch, which does not mean that he is a ruminant. Therefore 'to fill one's *kuksi* does not give exact information on the position of these *kuksi*. Mostly the dual body parts refer to the horizontal level and consequently two sides seem to be denoted and most probably the abdominal level is concerned.

Jamison places this level higher in the body and connects the two *kuksi* with the two cheeks. Filling both cheeks with Soma is hardly fashionable, but in the case of Indra bad manners are not exceptionable. However, filling both cheeks with meat (RV. 10,86, 14) requires absolute immortality in order to survive. Moreover, to fill both cheeks with food and drinks does not make more sense in English than to fill both sides of your belly.

In three verses of the RV. The filled *kuksi* or *kuksi* would suit the region of the head better than that of the stomach:

1, 8, 7 *yah kuksih somapatanmah samudra iva pinvate /
urvira apo na kakudah.*

A belly does not drink indeed, but in poetical language this expression is quite possible. The close association of *kuksi* and *kakud* (taken as 'gullet') would suggest that *kuksi* belongs to the head. The singular *kuksi* would then (in my view) denote the mouth rather than just one cheek. Similarly the singular alternating with the dual might refer to the belly as the totality of the two abdominal cavities, though it has to be admitted that two cheeks form a clearer dual body part than two sides of the belly.

3, 51, 12 *pra te asnotu kuksyoh prendra brahmana srrah*

I think that Soma, if at least it may be regarded as hallucinogenic, may be said to reach out the abdomen and the head (and even in this order).

8, 17, 5 *a te sincami kuksyor, anu gatra vi dhavatu*

Here the same argumentation applies, since the intoxicating Soma spreads over the, limbs from the abdomen (rather than from the cheeks).

The evidence of the RV. is therefore hardly conclusive. In the Yajurvedic Samhitas *kuksi* is found in a series of identification sand here its position seem to exclude a localisation outside the head.

Kula

From the evidences of the Rgveda, however meagre, we learn distinctly that the social and political organisation of the Aryans rested on their patriarchal family. V.m. Apte remarks: "the very use of term 'kula' which does not occur as an uncompounded word before the period of the Brahmanas, suggests a system of individual families, each consisting of several members under the headship of the father or eldest brother to whom belongs the kula. (Originally 'home or house of the family' then by metonymy 'the family itself.')" Dr. P.N. Banerjee (Pub. Ad. in A.I., 1916, London) observes: "Man is a gregarious animal; and in the earliest stages of social evolution, the family, and not the individual was the unit of society"; and rejects the view of some sociologists who hold that "the tribe was the earliest tribe of social aggregation and that the family was a later development." (Ibid., p. 24 fn. 1).

The family life underwent subsequent changes in course of natural progress of the Aryan society by means of the formation of larger and still larger groups, as for examples, the clans (*visah*), tribes (*jana*) and the villages (*grama*), culminating in the formation of States. As head of the family, the father controlled all activities of his children, sometimes

even their marriage. The relation between the father and his children was a rule that of deep love and affection and the father was, as is still today, regarded as the foundation of all that is good and kind. (“Sa nah piteva sunave’gne supayano bhava/sachasva nah svastaye”; Rv. VIII.86.4 “pitu-r-yathama, no vi yaustam”. (Though loving the father did not fail to the strict to his sons as shown in the chastisement of his gambler sons. (“Yanma piteva kitavam sasasa”).

Of course, the Rgveda records the cruel act of blinding Rjrasva by his father for slaying one hundred rams which may be passed over as unusual or isolated facts. The tale of the sale of Sunahsepa in the AB suggests how the son was under the absolute control of his son. From this story we also learn that adoption was admitted, even where there were natural sons, for the sake of adding a qualified member to the family, as Visvamitra adopted Sunahsepa. The AV. speaks of family concord which was highly stressed upon. It shows how the members of a family were eager to live united with common interests and mutual love and respect among themselves. The joint-family system was an order of the day in the Vedic period and three generations might have lived under the same roof. The family was like a small communistic society, the members loving each other and holding in joint possession the means of production and enjoying their produces in common. Sons or daughters had their free choice in their marriage affairs. (Jaiminiya Upanisad Brahmana), and the son lived with his parents even after marriage. From the use of some words ‘parivivdana’ and ‘parivitta’ we may surmise that brothers and sisters were married according to seniority; and sometimes as unmarried sister lived under the guardianship of her brother and his wife in the absence of her father. The Aryans being fewer in number than the non-aryans in the Rgvedic age, they always prayed to Indra for a large number of sons, even ten sons as in rc, (“dasasyam putranadhehi”).

The bride was taken by her groom to her new house as its

mistress—('grhapatni); and the term 'grhapatni' shows how she fared well with her position and prestige in the administration of the whole family. The new bride is blessed to be treated like an empress (samrajni) over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law (Rgveda, x. 85.47). Macdonell and Keith interpret this hymn to imply the daughter-in-law's away over her father-in-law, "when the old man had ceased to exercise control". Dr. P.L. Bhargava, however rejects this interpretation and remarks: "the word 'samrajni' is not at all intended to convey away or control." (The Vedic Age) But we must admit that the wife's power and position in the day-to-day administration of the house was fully recognised in the Rgvedic age; and both the husband and wife were treated as joint owners of the house in the later period, as evidenced by the terms 'dampati' and 'dharmapatni', used by Panini. The rc ("Kulapa na vrajapatim charantam") shows that the chief of the family (kula-pa) was inferior to and attendant on the Vrajapati, at least in war, when he goes about (charantam). The AV. states the same fact as the above rc. Timmer thinks that the above rc refer to the heads of families being subordinate in war to the village headman (gramani). But Whitney seems to be right as suggested by the authors of the Vedic Index, "in seeing merely the chieftain surrounded by the leading men, the family heads, not necessarily merely a village headman." Anyway, the heads of the families were of much help in times of war for their services under the headmen of villages or under any other chieftain. If so, the families were the lowest political units, and their heads rendered services not only in times of war but in those of peace, when the Gramani or village-headman had much voice in the political administration of the land, whose services will be discussed later on.

Land-Economy

Agricultural land was measured into suitable tillable plots owned by individuals: "They measured the one cup as a field with a bamboo-scale" (*ksetram iva mamus tejanena* RV I. 110.5, and "This fertile land of ours", VIII.91.6). There is also an indication that such fields owned by a person could be given as a gift: "As is a beautiful field given in gift to one who does praise" (X.33.6). The deity *Ksetrasya pati* (PV.IV. 57), as distinct from the *Vastospati* (VII. 54,55), indicates that fields were away from the general habitat. In addition to the fields, the property consisted of the movable species like the kine: "Indra gave us a chosen friends, a bright piece of fertile land and movable wealth" (RV III. 31. 15). All land was not necessarily cultivated by the owner, in certain cases it was given to friendly farmer for reaping produce, probably in the same way as is the case today where the owner gets half the produce; this is indicated from: "I praise Agni for the gain of wealth, as do people please a friend who prepares the fields for cultivation" (RV. VIII. 31.14 *mitram na ksetra-sadhasam*).

An important point is whether the king was the owner of all land. There is no doubt that in the early stages land was

owned by individuals or by a group of individuals, irrespective of the authority of the king. A group of people could clean a forest-piece and, having got it turned into agricultural land, divide it amongst the various individual families. This will be clear from: "To the nonpastoral (forest) land ave we arrived; the land, though wide, O gods! is injurious. O Brhaspati! think kindly of the pastures" (RV VI.47.20). Here we have the rough classification of land in (i) Forest land; and (ii) Pasture-land. Land was also divided as (ii) *urvara* (tillable fertile land); and (ii) *artana* (arid or non-tillable); a thirds type of land mentioned is *usa* or *usara*, which was saline. Adjacent to the *urvara* was the *khilya*, and the *khilyas* were distributed at various places for grazing. It seems that in the *khilyas* some sort of dwelling provision was made (cf. VI. 28.2 "Indras places the god-abiding person in the same *khilya* as himself"). The *khala* for thrashing the corn was in the *urvara* or nearby it; and all were prone to evil eye, and were carefully guarded (*Madit Sam.* II.9.6 "(evils) that are born in the *khala*, in the *urvara*, etc."). It is also indicated that corn from the field was collected inthe adjacent *khala* (AV XI. 3.9 "(For the cora), this *khala* is the container (*patra*, and the earth is the bigger hoard *kumbhi*)").

As the individual or the group was the owner of the land, there was no question of the king taking any tax for allowing the cultivation of land. The word *bali* accurss in the *Rgveda*, but it rarely indicates the tax paid by the land-tenants to the king. Though contributory tax for protection is seen. *Bali* indicates the war-tribute (VII. 18.19 "Ajas, Sigrus, and the Yaksus offered bali in the form of the heads of horses" Ibiudd VII 6.5, "Agni made the people paty *bali*" where the context is the destruction of the rampart walls (*dehyah*) of the eneny). The ownership of land had nothing to do with the control of the king. The *Dana-stti* passages, which contain so many articles of gifts do not contain land. In fact the ancient tradition was that land could not be given as a gift by the king. This is intend sat the passage, put in the mouth of the personified

Land itself: "O king Visvakarman Bhaumana! no mortal deserves to make a gift of me. And you desire to give me away? Well, I shall jump into water, so that your promise of my gift to your priest, Kasyapa, will be fruitless" (*Sat. Br.* XIII 7.15). In the later period, however, a king could give away land; but that was his own land; and not any land he chose. This could make clear that he was not the absolute owner of the land of his subjects. When the king *janasruti* Pautrayana gave certain villages to the recluse Raikva, (*Cchandogya Upanisad* IV. 4.5). It meant only the taxes from land, and not actual land. Even the land-revenue was for the protection of land, and not as an inherent right. The *sabarabhasya* on the *sutras* of jaimini is to be noted: "The land must not be given, as it belongs to all and not to any one in particular (*jaiminiya sutra* VI. 7.3). On the sabara's comment is : "Men are seen as the masters of a field, but not of the whole round of the earth. Some say, he who is the *sarvabhauma* (lord of the whole earth) might give away (earth); on it we say, 'No'. Why? Of whatever portion of the earth the *sarvabhaumais* the master, so is any one else". The period of the *Sutras* of Jaimini is anywhere from 600 to 200 B.C.; and the period of the *Satapatha Br.* is at least 1200 B.C.

Leather-work

The *Rgveda* mentions the *carmamna* (VIII.5.38 *carmamna abhito janah*, "the leather-tanners are in front", or "those who are wearing leather-armours"). Tanned leather is mentioned at various places from the *Rgveda* onwards (VII.55.2 "A hundred tanned leather pieces were presented"). Tanning included the putting of the hide in special chemicalised water and was thoroughly shaken in the process (cf. IV.13; 4 "The rays of the sun have put down the darkness as leather is placed in water", which also indicates the normal dark colour of the leather used.) Various uses of the cowhide and leather are indicated, as well be seen from: "Milking the shoots of

Soma, they place the pressing stones on the cow-hide" (X.94.9); "The bull being fastened to the yoke with the leather-ghongs, *varatras*" (X101.8); and the hand-guard of the soldier was made of leather (VI.75.14 *hastaghna*). Generally it was the cowhide or the bull-hide that was used for preparing leather; but at symbolic rituals the boar-hide is mentioned (in the context of the Rajasuya, *Sat. Br.*; "He lets off the boar-hide shoes").

Various occupations, both agricultural and others have been indicated by the *Yajurveda* texts in the context of the symbolic Sacrifice. They are practically the same in these texts; and we may do well to refer to the *Vajasaneyi-Sam.*:

"For nourishing liquids the ploughman; for soft drink the wine-maker; for auspiciousness the sower (which indicates that the man who ploughed was different from the one who sowed the corn); for nourishment the cow-herd;" (XXX.5fff).

Though fishery is not mentioned as a systematic occupation, many types of fishermen are mentioned: "For the tanks the *dhivara*"; likewise the other words are: *dasa*, *bainda*, *sauskala*, *margara*, *kaivarta*, *paunjistha*, *anda*, *mainala* and so on (Ibid. 8-16).

Yet others are: the female-worker in embroidery and the one adept in the science of love-excitement (Ibid, 9 *niskrtyai pesakarim samjnanaya samrakarim*, both being handled by women).

Yet another interesting group of occupations is as follows: "for purity and *bhisaj*, for knowledge of the special kind the astrologer, for advice the *prasnin* (plaintif), for close advice (*upasiksa*) the *abhiprasnin* (defendent?), for limit of conduct the judge (*maryadayai prasna-vivakam*)" (Ibid 9). Probably the *prasnin* and the *abhiprasnin* indicate the pleaders, while the *upasiksa* indicates the legal adviser.

There are also references to minor occupations such as the

basket-maker (female), the string-maker (rope-maker) etc. (Ibid. 11 ff).

Other fine occupations such as of the musicians etc. Will be indicated when we refer to pastimes. These occupations, however, do not indicate castes; for in the same family, it see, persons could follow different occupations: 'I am a composer of hymns, my father is the physician, my mother the grinder of corn' (RV IX.112.3); but this seems to have been in the times of the *Rgveda*. Later gradually occupations generated castes; and this was the case at the time of the Yajurveda Samhitas. As an example may be taken the case of the *bhisaj* (medicine-man). The *Rgveda* does not have any objection for the father being the *bhisaj*, when the son is the composer, as noted above, Rudra and the Asvins are the *bhisaj-s* in the *Rgveda*; but the Yajurveda Samhitas regard the *bhisaj* as unclean: "Hence, the Brahmana should not practice the administration of *bhesaja*; unclean and unworthy of sacrifice, indeed, is he who is the *bhisaj*" (*Taitt. Sam.* VI.4.9).

We have referred to the bow and arrows of Rudra. These were the most popular weapons; and they figured also in the rite of Rajasuya, where the symbolic success the king had to shoot three arrows. The best picture of the Vedic (especially Rgvedic) warrior could be had from the attire of the Maruts. At another place, we have reference to the *hastaghna*, as we have noted above. The leather-armour was of dark colour and is compared with the cloud (RV VI.75.1 "like the cloud becomes his countenance when he, with the armour, goes to the bosom of the battle-field". The crude and the original arrow was prepared from the reed, and had the deer-horn attached to one end; another variety was that which had the *ayas*-tip (RV VI.75.15 "poisoned arrow having the head of the deer-horn, and the one having *ayas* at the mouth"). There were feathers at the other end *suparnam vaste*), and the horn was fatened with the strap of the cow-hide (Ibid. V. 11 *gobhih sannaddha*). The *Aitareya Br.* mentions that the arrow was

having three parts or two parts, one being the reed; the remaining parts were the blade in the one having just two parts, and the blade and the forepart in the one having three parts, and the blade and the forepart in the one having three parts (*Ai. Br. 1.25 trisandhir hi-isur anikam salyas tejanam; dvisandhir hi-isuh salyas ca hy'eva tejanam ca*). The arrows were kept in the quiver (*isudhi*), which is poetically called "the father of many (arrows)" (RV VI.75.5). There was a regular occupation of the bow-makers and the arrow-makers (*Vaj. Sam. XVI.4 nama isukrdbhya dhansukrdbhyas ca namo namah*).

The bow was not kept ready all the time; but was kept with the string loose. At the time of action the string was tied to the other end; (of RV X.166.3 "Like the two ends with the bowstring here do I fasten you (O foe)"). The bow was symbolically called "tree"; but from which tree it was prepared is not clear. Probably it was prepared from the bamboo. The word *sarnnga*, which is so common in the later literature and indicates its being prepared from the horn of the antelope is rare. *Asi* (danger) was another weapon; it appears to be a short sword, and could be thrown from a distance (fr./as, "to throw"). Among other things it was used for the cutting of the victim or the cow (RV X.79.6 "You cut the wood joint by joint as does the *asi* the cow"). The spear (*rsti*) was another long range weapon (RV I.64.4 "On their shoulders [the Maruts have] the *rstis*"). The term *rstividyatah* (Ibid I. 168.5) probably indicates the serpentine long-range weapon. We have earlier referred to the *asma-didyavah*, and said that they indicated the stone-weapons, like the *asma-hanman*. Probably they were missiles that could be thrown from a distance.

Lotus

The Lotus, which plays a very important role in ancient Indian sculptures and paintings as seats and nimbus of gods and

goddesses as well as decorative motif has had deep symbolical meanings attached to it from the time of the Vedas. Though the lotus is not frequently mentioned in the Vedic literature, the available references to it lead to the conclusion that this flower was very highly esteemed by the Vedic rsis. The present article attempts to trace its relation to cosmogony and its role and function.

One of the earliest references is found in connection with Agni in the *Rgveda Puskara*, the oldest name of this water-born flower is mentioned as the birth-place of Agni in *RV* 6.16. 13;

त्वामग्ने पुष्कराद अध्यथर्वा निरमन्थत । मूर्ध्नो विश्वस्य वाघतेः ॥

The underlying ideas connected with different words of this mantra give us a symbolical significance. According to the cosmogonical conceptions there was only chaotic water before the creation of the universe: "All this was water." In the above verse lotus as a water-born flower embodies the cosmic water. *Satapatha Brahmana* 6. 4. 2. 2, while providing a commentary to this verse, gives the meaning *prana* for *atharva*: "O Agni. Atharvan rubbed three out of the lotus flower. Lotus flower is indeed water. Breath of life is *atharvan*. Indeed the breath of life rubbed it out of the water in the beginning.

In *RV* 10. 121. 7 Prajapati has been named *ekah asu*, which has been translated by scholars as 'vital spirit' 'Lebensgeist Lebenshauch, Lebeaskryft' and *prana*. So, *asu* and *prana* have the same meaning and, here, *atharva* = *prana* = *asu* denotes Prajapati.

Geldner takes *vaghatah* in the sense of 'priests', and Grassmann and Roth in *Petersburg Worterbuch zum Rgveda*, supposes. *Vaghatah* is ablative singular of *vaghat*, meaning 'carrier,' by which the cosmic water, the carrier of all is meant. *visvasya vaghatyah* is in apposition to *puskarat*. Sayana too takes *uaghatah* in the sense of *vahaakat*, i.e., 'from the

bearer,' 'from the carrier.'

Murdhan mean beginning and in (*PW*) Roth says that in the locative and the ablative *murdhan* also means 'in the beginning' (in Anguing). According to cosmogonical myths Prajapati in the beginning gathered Agni from the water. Agni is characterised in other verses as germ or foetus of water. His further name is 'son of waters' (*apam napat*). Now, the verse may be translated as follows:—

"O Agni in the beginning Atharvan (*i.e.*, from the cosmic water), the bearer of all".

In the *Taittiriya Samhita* the same theory is retold, but in a carer language, where Agni is taken as the previous stage of the earth: "In the beginning this was (moving) water. Prajapati becoming mind reched on the lotus leaf (cosmic water). He could find on support. He saw that nest of wats. On it he piled Agni. That became this (earth). Then indeed he had support."

Puskara parna and *salila*, both indicate water, *salila* to its moving state *i.e.*, to its unsteadiness and *puskara-parna* to its function as the support of Prajapati. *TS* 5. 6. 4. 5 explains that *apam lulyam* is Agni 'Nest of water' is the name of Agni's unmanifested form when it was one with the water, *i.e.*, when it was not divided and has no separate existence. 'Prajapati piled Agni on the nest of waters' means that with the help of Prajapati Agni became manifested from its unmanifested form, and then became this earth. In a passage in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (7 4 1. 8) Agni and earth have been identified (*iyam by agnih*).

It would be obvious from the above that the cosmogonical myth of the *Taittiriya Samhita* is a variatin of that of Agni's birth as told in the *Rgveda*. In the *Taittirita Samhita* Prajapati piles Agni on the nest jof waters.

Variations are observed in the successive stages of this myth.

The *Taittiriya Aranyaka* has an elaboration of the story told in the *Samhita*: This (world) was water that was moving. He, Prajapati, alone appeared on the lotus leaf. Within his mind originated a desire: 'May I create this (world)'. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* 14. 1. 2. 11, Prajapati did not rest on the 'lotus leaf', but, assuming the form of a boar, raised the earth on the cosmic water. He is named as her lord. It means that the cosmic water executed its function as *puskara-parna*, viz., as the support to the earth. The story in the *Taittiriya Brahmana* clearly names the lotus as the support to the earth. The story in the *Taittiriya Brahmana* clearly names the lotus as the support of the earth: "In the beginning, this (world) was water that was moving. Prajapati grew tired by that. 'How can it be' he said. He saw the lotus leaf standing. He thought, 'Indeed there must be something on which it rests.' Having taken the form of a boar he dived near. He obtained the earth below. Having taken a fragment of it he came out. That he spread on the lotus leaf."

Prajapati saw the lotus leaf standing' means that in the moving and unsteady cosmic water Prajapati perceived the latent possibility of supporting the creation. He divided and discovered that the cosmic water's potentiality as support for the earth below, i.e., the cosmic water could be a support of the earth. Hence he spread a fragment of it on the *puskara-parna*, the cosmic water. Both in the *Satapatha Brahmana* and the *Taittiriya Brahmana* versions the pre-existence of the earth below the cosmic water is supposed. In all these stories earth is said to have a firm establishment in the cosmic water. The *Satapatha Brahmana* says at one place that before getting a firm establishment the earth tossed on the cosmic water like a lotus leaf indicating its helpless condition in the vast ocean. The *Taittiriya Brahmana* says that it was made stable by the support of the lotus: "That he (Prajapati) saw in the midst of the heaving sea. He saw the wide earth (*urvi*).—the stability of the moving one (Ugat)—that was indeed born of the support of the lotus." *Pryhara* or lotus signifies the

cosmic water's role of support to the earth by making it steady at one place.

Obviously, the cosmogonic myth with all its variations is a modified form of the birth of Agni from the lotus. Agni or earth was the first visible form, *via.* lotus, that emerged from the water. In these myths the lotus embodies that thing which supports a new development, whether in the form of Agni (*RV*), or in the form of Prajapati (*TS* 5. 6. 4. 2-3) or in the form of the earth which was created or placed on the lotus.

This dictionary has been compiled by leading Hindu spiritual teacher and eminent vedic scholar *Swami Parmeshwarananda* of Haridwar (U.P.). He has written several books on hindu religion and translated many important religions scriptures into english. He has also conducted several seminars and work shops where many reputed theologians from all over the world took participation.

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